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THE NONCONFORMIST.

"The dissidence of dissent and the protestantism of the protestant religion."

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Ecclesiastical Affairs.

DUSK AND DAYLIGHT.

HE who has traveled alone through any striking district of a country entirely new to him, must have observed how, at the hour of dusk, he is disposed, especially should his temperament be somewhat of a sombre cast, to convert the indistinct outlines of the more prominent objects before him into approaching or impending terrors. Let the shades of evening descend less leisurely than usual, and create about his spirits an atmosphere of solemnity—let rising winds sigh his soul into melancholy—let distant mountain-tops front his path, and, like Nature's silent sentinels, challenge his onward march—let his road be intricate and flanked on either hand by the picturesque and the romantic—and, presently, a sense of loneliness will steal over him—the tune which he hummed or whistled to himself, and by means of which his will sought to keep his imagination at home, will be dropped—fears which broad sunlight had driven down to the innermost recesses of his being, to sleep there, will awake and creep forth in quest of proper aliment—and the man within, exhausted, perhaps, with the excitement of foregone enjoyments, will become painfully sensitive to impressions of awe. Then, looking out on all sides from the gloom in which he has enwrapped himself, all the objects by which he is surrounded will take a shape, and colour themselves with a hue, and speak to him in a tone, most in unison with his own state of feeling. The projecting rock, the neighbouring pile of ruins, the stunted bush upon the hill side, the white face of the shepherd's cot down on the opposite bank of the brawling brook—these, and the thousand nameless varieties which, in the light of open day, go to make up an enchanting landscape, will constitute materials out of which fancy, prompted by fear, will wreath the dire horrors and appalling dangers. For scenery is chiefly what the mind of the spectator makes it—a pipe which, according to the skill of the player, will "discourse most excellent music," or utter only a shrill and discordant sound. Nature is a mirror in which every man sees his own reflection; and her gaiety at one moment, and her sadness at another, are but the responses which she gives back to the soul who communes with her—the echoes of those thoughts which are busy within.

In social life the best men are occasionally liable to the same species of illusion. Proceedings unexceptionable in themselves, and adopted without scruple in ordinary affairs, may, by being viewed through the medium of suspicion, assume an aspect at which otherwise strong-minded men start back and grow pale. Let but a man's governing motive be misapprehended, owing to whatever cause, and his fairest acts will present themselves to notice under the most grotesque shapes imaginable—his movements will tell a tale the most ingeniously contradictory of what he intended. When he would unite, he is presumed to be labouring with all his force to divide—when he would arouse to disinterested and energetic action, he is regarded as laying his plans only to betray. His proposals are looked upon as dangerous in proportion as they are reasonable; and that which he poured forth as milk and wine, ere it reaches the vessel into which he would empty it, becomes strangely transmuted into gall and wormwood. But let the original mistake be corrected—let his real motive be proved to be incontestably honest—let his various steps of conduct be seen, not in the dusk of former misunderstandings, but in the sunlight of unequivocal truth, and it is wonderful how natural they all appear. Comeliness gilds what heretofore fear and dislike had shaded into imaginary monsters—reason puts on the form of reason—truth is recognised as truth—and they who had misinterpreted in darkness, wonder, when morning dawns, at the ingenuity of their own mistakes.

Something akin to this has been the history, until recently, of the project for holding an anti-state-church convention. The thing was not so great a novelty in itself as to awaken opposition on that account. The arguments put forth in its favour were neither recondite, nor unworthy of attention. The object aimed at was far from undesirable. But, unfortunately, it made its first appearance in a dusky atmosphere. Its first friends

made themselves but ill understood. They brought with them from the not-forgotten past, a repute for intemperance and rashness. Political restlessness was the idea associated with all their movements. The energy of deep-seated religious principle, it was more than suspected, might be charitably set down as wholly wanting in their case, and what seemed like it, might be safely accounted as a spurious imitation of it. These things flung over the plan a deep shade, and many of its most valuable features were consequently misapprehended. This mistake our own method of handling the subject may have contributed to deepen—and every effort of ours to knock away the objections which showed themselves, may, possibly, from some roughness in our manner, have been looked upon as but reiterated proof that the proposal was fraught with danger.

Suppose now that it could be made plain to sincere but mistaken objectors, that this plan originated in no such unworthy motives—contemplated no rash results—was the reflection of no selfish ambition—the foam of no tossing surges of political feeling; suppose it to be placed beyond doubt that they who urged it were charged unjustly when factious designs were attributed to them; suppose them to have succeeded at last in making themselves understood, and in establishing an undeniable claim to be regarded as men strongly impressed with the importance of the object avowedly in pursuit, and disposed, for its sake, to make a cheerful sacrifice of any little advantages which otherwise were their due, and voluntarily to adopt a conciliatory tone, when, perhaps, it was least to be anticipated from them—who does not see, that new light on this head, would be new light on the subject of the convention itself? Numberless fears would be driven by it back to obscurity and retirement. The objects which, gazed upon in the twilight of misapprehension, showed themselves in fantastic and alarming indistinctness, would stand out well-defined in whatever beauty they might really possess, and that which but just now showed itself as a frightful phantom, would, as a reality, be found not wholly devoid of attractions.

We have some hope that this very natural change of opinion and feeling is actually taking place. It is not for us, undoubtedly, to raise expectations which, like early blossoms, a bleak wind may presently nip and render fruitless. Nevertheless, we are not without some ground for the belief that night is giving place to day—that the mists of prejudice are fast taking up—that serious objections are gradually disappearing—that things begin to show themselves in their true colours—and that ere long, possibly before the present year has been numbered with the departed, we may be able to announce to our readers, that previous difficulties have been removed, seeming discordances harmonised, and oneness of sentiment established. It is due to the magnitude and to the seriousness of the proposed enterprise, that it should be undertaken, if possible, not by isolated sections of the nonconforming community, but by men fairly representative of the whole body of the earnest-hearted. We are precluded from saying more at the present moment, but we cannot conclude without breathing forth our most fervent desires, that, at length, no obstacle will suffice to prevent a *bonâ fide*, united, and energetic move for calling together an anti-state-church convention.

THE POOR MAN'S CHURCH.

THE compulsory church of England having adopted the above title, on the principle, we presume, of "*lucus à non lucendo*," is driven by stress of times, and by the growth of population, to put forth strenuous efforts to deserve it. Some time back we took pains to show that, in one sense, the assumed designation is strictly appropriate—that as the wealth of the church is derived from a permanent charge upon the land, heightening to the consumer the price of agricultural produce, and as the produce thus enhanced in money value is chiefly eaten up by the millions of working men, they constitute, in fact, the main supporters of the establishment. It is not, however, in this point of view that we purpose, at the present moment, to regard its claim. We are now concerned to show rather what it does or intends to do for the poor, than what it takes from them; and we are bound to admit, at the outset, that its activities in this particular direction have, in recent times, been progressively on the increase. Time was when its

concern for the poor showed itself chiefly through the medium of clerico-magisterial zeal to promote morality among the destitute by enforcing the game laws and trespass acts. Since the passing of the Poor Law Amendment bill, it has found a wider scope for its ever-beating sympathies. Clergymen have devoted no small share of their attention to assist boards of guardians in applying the provisions of that act, and, aware that, if rigidly interpreted, it must needs produce considerable affliction, they have laboured zealously to furnish, through paid chaplains, the requisite amount of spiritual consolation. When Mr Ferrand brought forward, last session, his plan for the cultivation of waste lands, he, in deference to the spirit of the times, put the whole management of it in the hands of the established clergy. When the Home Secretary introduced his famous remedial measure for the education of the industrious classes, he gave the working of it substantially to this same clergy. Disappointed in these prospects of usefulness, and burning with a laudable desire to show their interest in the poor, they are ever on the watch for opportunities of doing good, and of being made the almoners of other men's bounty.

An instance of this kind has just been made public. The growing mass of destitution to be found in this metropolis has, of late, occupied the anxious attention of the benevolent. The *Times*, as our readers know, published several eloquent and touching appeals on this subject, and the fruit of its labours may be seen in an advertisement published in its columns of Monday last. From this authentic source we gather the information that at a meeting held at London house, on Saturday, Dec. 2, it was resolved to form "An association for promoting the relief of destitution, and for improving the condition of the poor in the metropolis by means of parochial and district visiting." "The objects contemplated," observes the advertised address, "clearly mark out the propriety, or rather the necessity, of attempting their attainment through the agency of the parochial clergy." With a view to this the following regulations have been adopted, and the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.; Sir Walter R. Farquhar, Bart.; Sir R. H. Inglis, Bart., M.P.; and Henry Kingscote, Esq., have been appointed trustees, to whose account subscriptions are to be placed.

"1. The objects of this association shall be to relieve destitution, and to improve the condition of the poor in the metropolis, by means of parochial and district visiting, under the superintendence and direction of the bishop and clergy."

"2. The association shall consist of the general body of contributors to the fund, the Bishop of London being president."

"3. The business of the association shall be conducted by a committee of members belonging to the church of England; one-third to go out annually, but to be re-eligible. The vacancies to be filled up by election at the annual meeting."

"4. The committee shall have power to defray, from the funds of the association, such expenses as they shall deem essential for the efficient management of its concerns, but no part of its funds shall be applied to the payment of district agents or visitors. The attendance of five members of the committee shall be necessary for the transaction of business."

"5. An annual meeting of the association shall be held—the president in the chair—to receive the accounts of the preceding year, to appoint auditors for the ensuing year, and to fill up the vacancies in the committee."

"The duties of the committee shall be to form and maintain a fund for the purposes herein specified, by occasional appeals to the public, to receive contributions, and to administer such fund under the following regulations:—"

"1. To obtain from the parochial clergy, and to afford to them, information concerning district visiting; for this purpose to enter into immediate communication with the clergy of each metropolitan parish."

"2. In such parish where a visiting society is in operation, to request information respecting its working and results, and the general condition of the poor."

"3. Where a visiting society exists, but is confined in its operations by want of funds, to render assistance."

"4. Where there is no society, to submit a plan, with the offer of effective co-operation."

"5. Where no provision for district visiting exists, or seems likely to be made, the case to be submitted to the bishop."

"The fund to be administered to objects deserving of relief, without distinction of religious persuasion:—"

"1. Upon application from any incumbent, or from the curate of any non-resident incumbent, a grant of money may be made, to be employed in the relief of the destitute poor by means of gratuitous district visiting."

"2. Such incumbent, or curate, shall specify in his application the constitution of the district visiting society by which he proposes to dispense the money granted to him by the committee, and the general objects to which it will be applied."

"3. And shall render periodically to the committee an account of the actual expenditure of the grant.

"4. All grants shall be made for one year only, but shall be renewable upon similar application, at the discretion of the committee.

"In distributing the funds of the association, care shall be taken not to interfere with the legal administration of relief to the poor."

Now without disparaging the charitable intentions of the projectors of this association, it is impossible to read the passages which we have marked with italics, without being struck with the conviction that the dispensation of charity is to be rendered subservient to the extension of clerical influence, and that, by the agency of a delicate system of bribery, the affections of the poor, long since alienated from the establishment, are to be regained, if possible. Every clergyman in the metropolis is to go forth with the prayer-book in one hand and a purse in the other, and by the glitter of silver coin is to throw around the compulsory church new and unwonted attractions.

If dissenters will, as we begin to hope they will, resolutely act up to their avowed principles, we shall not be greatly alarmed for the results of this novel system of proselytism. The constant activity it will call into requisition may be given by the clergy for a while, but can only be sustained by an ever-present, ever-operative religious principle. Worldly ends call forth few but worldly men—and untiring perseverance in well-doing is not to be expected from such an agency. It is a rash—it has suddenly come out upon the skin, and it will as suddenly go in again, when the excitement of the day is over. We call to mind, moreover, what we have more than once had occasion to remark, that the poor are not so blind as their superiors usually take them to be. They are shrewd observers. Kindness shown to them from any suspected ulterior motives, seldom engages their confidence. They will take the money, we doubt not, but it will scarcely change their hearts. Possibly they may be attracted to the parish church, but they will not give a whit more heed to the catechism, or pay a whit more of sincere reverence to the clergy. The whole attempt will do nothing more than whitewash a building which is rotten at its foundations—and keep up a show of popularity which, in point of fact, is delusive. Ages of ecclesiastical rapacity and oppression have left upon the hearts of the poor marks which no trickling streams of charity can now efface. We are glad, for the sake of the destitute, that these attempts are being made to win their suffrage. The sums which reach them, through whatever channel, will somewhat alleviate their distress—but, unless truth should henceforth be concealed by those who hold it, and the principles of religious liberty should be hidden under the skirt of those who profess them, we are not afraid that, in the long run, such schemes as the above will retard the hour of the church's emancipation from secular thralldom. All the defences of the compulsory system, which have been thrown up around it by such means, will prove but as stubble in the day of fiery conflict. When truth once gets head, those external props of what is inherently worthless, will only serve as fuel to the flame—and poor men will be amongst the foremost to abolish for ever the self-styled "poor man's church."

EAST LONDON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY SOCIETY.—The third district meeting of this society was held on Tuesday evening last, at Latimer chapel school rooms, Mile-end road; T. H. Fry, Esq., took the chair. The meeting was addressed by the following ministers:—J. Glanville, E. Halliday, R. Saunders, S. Davis, B. Woodyard, and G. F. White, Esq.; and resolutions, approving of the society, were unanimously adopted.

The sum of £222 has been collected in Nottingham in aid of the Free church of Scotland.

The total of the collections in aid of the Free church for the West Riding of Yorkshire, amounts to £739 6s. 5d.

THE CHAPLAINCY QUESTION.—We find from the Yorkshire papers that the poor law guardians of the city of York have lately had a discussion on the appointment of a paid chaplain for the workhouse. On a former occasion the question had been raised, and the consideration of it postponed for one twelvemonth by a majority. The attendance on this occasion was large. The subject was introduced by a motion from Mr Hardman in favour of a permanent chaplain, which was opposed by Messrs Horsley, Williamson, and others. The amendment was to the following effect:—"That it is inexpedient to deviate from the amended resolution passed by this board on the 24th of August last, rejecting the appointment of a chaplain to the workhouse; and that Mr Hardman's present proposition to renew the application for such appointment be taken into consideration this day twelvemonths." A long and animated discussion ensued, which finally terminated in the amendment being carried by forty to twenty-four.

DISSENTING STATISTICS.—In the *Congregational Calendar* for 1844 we find a list of independent chapels erected and enlarged between October, 1842, and October, 1843. They amount to twenty-four new chapels (in England and Wales), and twelve rebuilt, enlarged, or opened after repairs. In the last report of the Baptist Union there is a list of thirty-seven "chapels, either new or newly occu-

pied," belonging to that denomination, in England and Wales, besides nine enlarged. Thus the new chapels erected or re-opened by these two denominations of protestant dissenters, within twelve months, appears to be sixty-one.

INTENTION OF MINISTERS TO ENDOW THE CATHOLIC CLERGY.—We hear, through a quarter of high authority, that it is actually the intention of Sir R. Peel to propose, during the ensuing session, a measure for endowing the Roman catholic clergy of Ireland, and especially granting them glebes or portions of land. We cannot vouch for the accuracy of the information, but we know that it is fully believed by some of Sir Robert Peel's own supporters, high in rank, but who have told the Premier that they shall oppose him on this question. The country will act accordingly.—*Leeds Mercury*.

ANTI-PUSEYITE MANIFESTO.—A "lay protest against tractarianism," which has created a good deal of interest among the Oxford university men, has been transmitted to Vice-Chancellor Wynter. The address expresses alarm at the deviation from the principles of the reformed church, and exhorts the authorities to protect the youth intrusted to their care, against the dangerous influence. The list of signatures begins with the names of several noblemen, and is computed to number ten thousand in all!

CHURCH RATES, BRIGHTON.—A vestry meeting was held at Brighton, on Tuesday, for the purpose of making a rate for St Nicholas and St Peter's churches. The meeting was in the number of twenty to one against making the rate, and Mr Baas, a member of the Society of Friends, moved the adjournment of the meeting for six months, which was seconded by Mr James Trega. The churchwardens proposed a rate of two-pence in the pound to meet their liabilities, which was duly seconded, but on a show of hands the motion for the adjournment was carried by a vast majority, whereupon a poll was demanded, which was opened forthwith, and at the close of the day the numbers were as follows:—For the rate, 53; against it, 189: majority against the rate, 136.

CHURCH RATES, LEAMINGTON.—A vestry meeting was held on the 13th inst, at the parish church, Leamington, to erect a church tower for the important object of containing a large peal of bells. The parishioners attended in large numbers. A vote of 24d. in the pound was moved and seconded, and also an amendment against the same. The motion was withdrawn, and the chairman (the vicar) rather abruptly dissolved the meeting, the sense of which was, nevertheless, demanded, amidst great noise and confusion, regarding the amendment, in favour of which at least four-fifths of those present held up their hands.

ILLEGAL CHURCH RATE.—The compulsory church has been attempting to carry things with a high hand at Edenfield, near Bury, Lancashire. We learn from the *Manchester Times*, that at a meeting lately held there, convened by a notice stuck on the inner door of the chapel of ease, a rate of 4d. in the pound was proposed. Several amendments were proposed, but the rev. "successor of the apostles," who filled the chair, refused to put any of them to the meeting. After some discussion on both sides, the original motion was put by the chairman, who called for a show of hands in its favour. A fair number was held up: the chairman was asked to put the contrary, which he peremptorily, and not very courteously, refused to do, on which one of the ratepayers called out, "Howd up yur honds ogen th' rate." A large majority of hands was immediately held up, which, however, the chairman refused to notice, and called for those in favour of the rate to sign the book. The illegality of the rate is indisputable, and it remains to be seen whether or not the authorities will attempt to enforce it. The opponents of all compulsory payments towards religious edifices are preparing to form a union to oppose the collecting of the rate, and already some handsome sums have been promised towards a subscription for defending any legal proceedings which the chapelwardens may take.

GREENWICH.—A vestry meeting, principally for the purpose of making a church rate for the parish of Greenwich, was held on Friday evening last, in the school-room of Roan's charity, by adjournment from the church. The church party mustered much stronger than their opponents, and a rate of three-pence halfpenny was carried by 95 to 50, in spite of several powerful speeches against it. Two amendments had been proposed, which the chairman refused to put, declaring that it was his determination in future to put the question in the form of "rate" or "no rate."

SCOTTISH AFFAIRS.

WORKING OF LORD ABERDEEN'S BILL.—The case of Mr Smith of Penpont, alluded to in a late number, came before the presbytery of Edinburgh on Wednesday. After a good deal of debating as to the best mode of testing the objection, that Mr Smith's preaching was not level to the capacity of the people, they at last agreed to appoint him to preach, over again, two of the sermons which the people heard before, on Tuesday next, in the face of the whole congregation. A great crowd is expected in the Tolbooth church, Edinburgh, on Tuesday next, to witness this novel trial of ministerial gifts.

FREE CHURCH SOIRÉE.—(From a Correspondent.)—On Thursday night, the large hall of Tanfield was filled to excess, to hear members of the English deputations that have lately been in England, recount the success of their mission. Dr Chalmers and others were advertised to be present—with somewhat questionable morality—for it was known to the initiated, that the doctor could not possibly attend. However, upwards of 3,000 persons at-

tended; all of them in a high state of enthusiasm. Sir James Forest, the late lord provost, was called to the chair; and the speakers were Dr Candlish, Mr Tweedie, Mr Begg, Mr Guthrie, Dr Brown, of the Secession, and Mr Alexander, independent, together with two of the Free church councillors. The speeches, for the most part, were heavy; but Mr Guthrie's speech was in the true tone of Christian feeling, and, though tainted with his besetting sin of vulgar jokes, was yet worth all the rest. It may be news to Englishmen, but it is true, that the Free church party coolly talk of converting England to presbyterianism. If this were to be consummated, the people, we fear, would soon have cause to echo Milton's complaint—

"New presbyter is but old priest writ large."

Correspondence.

A CONTINUATION OF THE SCALE OF ECCLESIASTICAL TITLES.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR—I observe, with surprise, that an attempt is being made on the part of some members of the nonconforming body to deprive the dissenting ministry of its long recognised distinctive title. Now, with all deference to the better judgment of others, I would express my strong doubts of the expediency of the act; and without anything like a re-opening of the question, I may be permitted to suggest a doubt whether divines, be they dissenting or clerical, can in the present day afford to drop any of their "appliances" or external marks of respect. I shall, as connected with this subject, merely advert to a recent article in the *Spectator*, treating of a clergyman or other minister—of course not denuded of his title, and separated by a strict line of demarcation from men in general—as an indispensable necessity of human existence.

My more immediate object, however, in addressing you, is to allude to a kindred subject—viz., the ungraceful abruptness of the point at which church of England titles terminate, thus—

The archbishop, is by "divine providence—his grace the most reverend father in God the archbishop of —."

The bishop, "by divine permission—the right reverend father in God the lord bishop of —."

The dean, "the very reverend the dean of —."

The archdeacon, "the venerable and reverend the archdeacon."

The priest or deacon simply, "the reverend."

To these add academical titles; and here, so far as my imperfect information goes, the list terminates. What I venture to propose is, to carry the matter a little further, thus—

The parish clerk, an important functionary, should be at least called, "the demi-reverend."

The organist, "the semi-reverend."

The sexton, wearing a gown, "the demi-semi-reverend."

Thus would courtesy to ecclesiastical persons be carried throughout, and the maxim be unequivocally fulfilled—"honour to whom honour is due."

AN OBSERVER OF THE SIGNS
OF THE TIMES.

Leominster.

[The following letter to the London Missionary society, a copy of which, enclosing a subscription of £5 towards the proposed Anti-state-church Convention, has been sent us, is inserted at the request of the writer.]

Tavistock, Sept. 24th, 1843.

To the Secretary of the London Missionary Society.

SIR—Having for a few years past given an extra donation to the London Missionary society towards its operations in India, I feel myself called upon to state my reasons for its withdrawal. Believing, as I do, that two of the greatest obstacles to the spread of pure Christianity is the sanction the church gives to the profession of arms, and the drinking usages of society, and being grieved in finding that your missionaries generally sanction the one and conform to the other—though there are, I am happy to say, a few pleasing exceptions; Williams, in the latter part of his life, in the South Sea Islands; and Moffat, of late years, in Africa; the labours of both of which have been much blessed, and the converts from the heathens, through their instrumentality, on their first embracing Christianity beautifully exemplified by their conduct the incompatibility of war with the spirit and precepts of Christianity.

In India, in particular, I fear your missionaries do not bear a testimony against war. I therefore feel it my duty to send the amount of my extra subscription in some other channel, where I hope it will be useful in awakening attention so as to cause the removal of those two great obstacles. I cannot but think the heart of Williams (had he been now living) would have been deeply grieved at the application of the Queen of Tahiti to this country for a ship of war to be sent to defend her against the French. Indeed, I regard that dear man as martyred by the church of Christ. When visiting this place, I heard him say, "I should not fear landing on any island, let the inhabitants be ever so savage, if I was certain no European had been there before." He landed on an island. Europeans had been there before; and, through their conduct, he was martyred. I have been given to understand that the captain who, with his men, quarrelled with the natives of Erromanga, was a pious, good man.

I do not say but we may have many pious, good men in the army and navy; but they have no business there. Fifty or a hundred years ago, many of our church members bought and sold slaves; but should we now think them fit members for church communion? Excuse this hasty scrawl, as I am not accustomed to write my thoughts. Suffice to say that I am a mechanic—have been a subscriber to the London Missionary society for thirty years, and hope to continue my former annual subscription. Yours respectfully,

JOHN PEARSE.

THE GREAT CHESS MATCH AT PARIS.—The twelfth game in the great chess match between Mr Staunton and M. St Amant has been decided in favour of the Englishman. Mr Staunton has thus won nine games, M. St Amant two, and one was drawn.

The Complete Suffrage Movement.

COUNCIL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL COMPLETE SUFFRAGE UNION.

Birmingham, Dec. 18th, 1843.

The Council of the National Complete Suffrage Union met this afternoon, at their Office, 37, Waterloo street, the President in the chair.

Letters were read from Exeter, Cheltenham, Worcester, Manchester, Glasgow, Plymouth, Bristol, Cranbrook, Paxford, Truro, Treuchie, London, Crediton, and Markinch.

The following was read from John A. O'Neill, Esq., of Bunowen castle, Clifden, Ireland.

"Bunowen Castle, Clifden, Ireland,
8th Dec., 1843.

"ESTEEMED FRIEND—I have read with attention and pleasure a printed statement of the objects of the National Complete Suffrage Union. The second section extends an invitation to me, which I cordially accept, and beg you will have the goodness to propose me as a member of that invaluable institution. I quote the section to which I refer. 'II. To invite all persons to become members of this Union who are favourable to the great principle of political equality, all who belong to every description of political association or society for improving and benefiting the people, as well as persons of all creeds, classes, and opinions, who are desirous of seeing their country prosperous, enlightened, and free.'

"I claim admission under this, first, because I am favourable to the great principle of political equality; secondly, because I belong to a political society, the Irish Repeal association, which perfectly answers the above description; thirdly, because I desire to see my country (and England also) enlightened, prosperous, and free, taking that word literally.

"Whatever may be my politics in detail, I separate the question of complete suffrage from every other, thoroughly convinced that out of its establishment will grow all that rational or practical men can desire for England, a country to which I am attached by ties of the deepest gratitude and affection, if an humble individual may use such expressions towards a great nation. I never can forget my reception in, and return for, an important English borough, Hull, containing 35,000 Britons; and it will ever be a source of deep-felt pleasure to me that I served them faithfully, and received votes of thanks from every public body in that large town.

"The enlightened men of Birmingham, warned by the errors of those who embarrass a great nation by details—which will be its result, are beginning with the groundwork, not like those who waste their time in dealing with effects, and leave causes untouched. Complete suffrage is but the name of the first principle of the rights of man. It will send to parliament faithful agents, not dictators. It will deprive the rich of the power successfully to lure the poor from the path of probity and patriotism; they will be beyond the danger and infamy of being tempted to sell their birthright, the elective franchise. Complete suffrage will, in fact, annihilate corruption amongst electors; and whilst that exists it is absurd to expect purity in the representative body. Men who buy a vote will probably sell it, certainly will never respect the petitions or remonstrances of the corrupt vendors. Another vitally important and inevitable consequence of the extended suffrage will be short parliaments; and it is quite vain to hope for good public servants, unless the public has the power of promptly displacing them.

"History, the writings of the ablest civilians, scripture itself, all prove that the Complete Suffrage Union is seeking for the people, not the establishment of a new principle, but the restoration of the most ancient right vested in them, but from time to time curtailed in Great Britain, and in Ireland almost destroyed.

"One of the arguments to support every infringement on popular rights is popular acquiescence, as non-resistance is called. It is true that spoliation has taken place with but slight opposition on the part of the despoiled; but be it remembered that every invasion of popular liberty has been made under the auspices of a standing army, and that armed, and therefore arbitrary, power can easily hold in check an uncombined, and therefore inefficient, multitude.

"We read in scripture that kings were directed 'to hearken to the voice of the people,' not of an oligarchy. If monarchs and senators, titled and untitled, always respected this sacred mandate, there would be less pauperism, less profligate expenditure of the funds of the people, less selfishness, less callosity of feeling amongst the majority of the favoured children of fortune, and less actual misery, mental and bodily, amongst the great family of the human race.

"I remain, esteemed friend, truly yours,
JOHN A. O'NEILL.

On the motion of Mr Morgan, seconded by Mr Albright, Mr O'Neill was unanimously received as a member of the Union, and his letter ordered to be inserted on the minutes.

THE BATH DISTRICT.—The President stated that arrangements had been made for his visiting several towns in the Bath district, in compliance with the invitations of friends of the cause there. He was to attend a conversational meeting at Cheltenham on Tuesday, December 19—to preside at a public meeting at Stroud in the evening of same day, when Mr T. Spencer will deliver a lecture on complete suffrage—attend a conversational meeting at Gloucester on Wednesday morning, the 20th, a soirée the same evening—on Thursday, the 21st, a conversational meeting at Bath, and on Friday, the 22nd, a public meeting at Bristol.

YORKSHIRE DISTRICT.—The Council arranged that the President and Secretary should visit Hull on the 26th, Huddersfield and Halifax on the 27th, Bradford on the 28th, and attend a conversational meeting and complete suffrage soirée at Leeds on the 29th inst., with the view of urging on the consideration of the friends the proposal to seek redress of grievances by moving amendments on the supplies.

LEICESTER DISTRICT.—The deputation intend to go to a soirée at Sheffield on the 3rd of January, and during the same week attend meetings at Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, and Northampton, in furtherance of the foregoing object.

DEPUTATION TO WALSALL.—The deputation to

Walsall and Wolverhampton reported that they had attended numerous and spirited meetings there on Tuesday (Wolverhampton) and Wednesday (Walsall) last—that resolutions had been passed unanimously in favour of the proposal to suspend the supplies, until the grievances of the people are investigated and redressed, with a request that the members of these boroughs should give effect to it in parliament.

MR BEGGS'S VISIT.—The following was received from Mr Beggs:—

"Since my last I have visited Plymouth, Devonport, Truro, Falmouth, and Exeter. In Truro I held a public meeting, and after the lecture an association was formed. In Falmouth I regret to say every thing is stagnant, no one could be found to take an interest in getting up a meeting. In Devonport I had an excellent meeting, great numbers being unable to obtain admission. I had two conversational and one public meeting at Plymouth; the cause is moving well here, and our friends are active and energetic. In Exeter there is a gradually growing opinion in favour of complete suffrage."

MR VINCENT'S LECTURES.—A most interesting and encouraging account was read from Mr Vincent, as to the progress of the cause in Lancashire, where the suffrage movement has taken deep root.

GREAT COMPLETE SUFFRAGE DEMONSTRATION IN BIRMINGHAM.

BIRMINGHAM, MONDAY NIGHT.

A grand demonstration in favour of the complete suffrage cause took place this morning at our Town hall, which building, owing to the exertions of the friends of civil and religious freedom in Birmingham, has at length been opened to the public by the recent election of Thomas Weston, Esq., one of the earliest friends of the Complete Suffrage Union in this town, to the office of chief magistrate of the borough. As you are already informed, the council of the Union have been for some time successfully engaged in disseminating information respecting their principles and objects in Birmingham and other parts of the country; but here, where their chief efforts have been directed, the fruits of these exertions have manifested themselves in the most decided and gratifying manner, the strongest evidence of which was afforded by the numbers and character of to-day's meeting. The Town hall, which is capable of holding full eight thousand persons, was filled, with the exception of a portion of the great gallery; and, in estimating the numbers who were present at six thousand persons, the statement is not over-rated. But what adds to the importance of the meeting was the deep interest which all appeared to feel in the proceedings, and the impression which was produced on their minds by the argumentative and convincing speeches of Joseph Sturge, Esq., Wm Morgan, Esq., and Messrs Albright, Wilson, and the other speakers. These addresses will not end here, but will form fruitful texts for discussions and conversations in our numerous manufactories and workshops, till the masters themselves, as in the days—the "glorious days," as they were called—of the Reform bill, will be forced, by the power of public opinion, into the ranks of the people. Should anything approaching to the same energy and determination be manifested in the cause, in the great boroughs and towns of England, we may shortly hope to see a party formed in this country united by no common bond of union, and animated solely by a desire to benefit their fellow-men, and advance the moral and religious interests of the human race. One great triumph, and it is no ordinary one, which has been achieved by the labours and perseverance of the friends of complete suffrage in Birmingham is, that they have succeeded, if not in convincing, at least in persuading, that portion of the working classes who have thrown themselves more immediately into the ranks of the chartists, to hear their opinions calmly expounded and discussed. The consequence of this action on public opinion is, that we had to-day, in the hall and on the platform, the leaders and members of the chartist party in this town, who manifested, on the whole, a good feeling to the cause, and a disposition to throw no obstacles in the way of its advancement, if they did not yield it a hearty support. Nor did the meeting consist exclusively of these two parties; for, hanging on its outskirts, we observed, during the proceedings, numbers of respectable and intelligent men belonging to other sections of reformers, members of the Anti-corn-law League, jostling currency men, and some "old familiar faces" which were wont to gladden the meetings of the Political Union in its palmy days, when the name of radical Birmingham struck terror into the hearts of the monopolists. But we must hasten to our account of the proceedings.

At twelve o'clock, the hall began to fill, and the members of the Town council, who had signed the requisition, assembled in the committee room to complete their arrangements for the meeting. Shortly after twelve o'clock, Thomas Weston, Esq., mayor, accompanied by Joshua Scholefield, Esq., M.P., Joseph Sturge, C. Perry, Esq., William Morgan, Esq., Messrs Field, Collins, and upwards of thirty members of the corporation, entered the organ gallery, and were received with loud cheering. The following gentlemen were also present—Mr Thos Morgan, Mr C. H. Roe, Mr T. H. Morgan, Alderman Cutler, town councillors Palmer, Matchett, Webster, Whitfield, Barlow, Wood, Page, Goodrick, Baldwin, Gargory, Salt, Truman, Atkinson, R. Smith, C. Sturge, R. K. Douglas, Esq., A. Albright, Esq., Mr J. H. Wilson, Mr Hawkes, Mr J. Corbett, and Mr Wm Mills.

JOSHUA SCHOLEFIELD, Esq., M.P., proposed, and Mr MITCHELL seconded, that the Mayor do take the chair. The resolution was carried unanimously.

The MAYOR then took the chair, and proceeded to

read the advertisement calling the meeting, in compliance with a requisition presented to the Mayor, signed by 500 inhabitants, of whom thirty were town councillors. He also read a letter from Mr Muntz, one of the borough members, who regretted that his engagements would prevent him attending the meeting. (Mr Muntz was, however, present towards the close.) The Chairman, before proceeding to the business of the meeting, briefly adverted to the visit of Prince Albert. He hoped that the result of that meeting would testify to the country, that not only the people of Birmingham could welcome a stranger in a true English style, but that they were capable of meeting together in the Town hall to discuss and consider their grievances, and to adopt legal measures calculated to redress them. In reference to the requisition, although Mr Muntz said part of it was "undefined," he would say that although the object was not so perfectly pointed out as some friends might wish, yet it was perfectly legal and regular, and was open to discussion and consideration as the best means of obtaining the redress of their grievances through the legislature. There was nothing in it but what was lawful. No one had less doubt than himself that they had grievances which needed redress, and the proper course to obtain it was in a peaceful, lawful, and orderly manner, gathering in public opinion in their favour, and endeavouring to get redress through the instrumentality of the legislature. There was one thing, however, which he must impress upon them. That meeting was one of very great importance; the proceedings would give a tone to the agitation for the people's rights throughout the country, if they were conducted under the banner of peace, law, and order [hear, hear]; and, if no unwise proposition were brought forward, calculated to throw doubt and obscurity on their purpose, it would encourage the kingdom at large, and become an honour to the town of Birmingham. The cause of the people was now in a fair way of making progress; the timidity of the middle classes, arising from the violence of some pretended friends of the people, was now giving way—they were showing a disposition to unite heart and hand with the working classes, and to get justice and their rights attended to by the legislature. He would now only call upon them to support him in the office to which they had appointed him. He would use his utmost endeavours that the proceedings should be conducted in a regular, peaceful, and orderly manner, giving every man who had a right to address them a full, fair, and free opportunity of expressing his sentiments. At the same time he claimed to himself the right which the poorest person in that assembly enjoyed—that is, if anything which he thought unwise should be proposed, to throw back the object and compromise the meeting, that he would give his advice in a few words on the proposition, and then submit it to the good sense of the meeting. He thought he had said enough in explanation of the nature and objects of the meeting, and the means by which they were sought to be obtained; and he would now introduce to them a gentleman who had undertaken to bring forward a proposition—a name which they had heard many times, but had never heard except in connexion with justice, humanity, and the rights of their fellow creatures—a name which is honoured north, east, west, and south, and would be transmitted on the page of history, surrounded by the brightest lustre which humanity could shed around it—he meant Mr Joseph Sturge. The Mayor resumed his seat amidst loud and universal cheers.

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., then came forward, and was received with great cheering. He had had, he said, committed to his care a resolution, which in itself might be deemed a speech. He should first read it, and afterwards make a few observations upon it. Mr S. then read the following resolution:—"Whereas it is a fundamental law of the British constitution that no subject of England shall be constrained to pay any aids or taxes but such as are imposed by his own consent; and whereas, in accordance with this law, the privilege of granting or withholding the supplies is conferred exclusively upon the Commons' House of Parliament, that body being supposed to represent the subjects of the Crown; and whereas the House of Commons does not now represent the people, there being upwards of six millions of male adults in Great Britain and Ireland, and only eight hundred thousand electors, while less than a hundred and sixty thousand electors return a majority of members; and whereas the House of Commons does not possess the confidence of the people of these realms, for the following among other reasons—First—because a large proportion of the members have notoriously obtained their seats by bribery and corruption. Secondly—because parliamentary proceedings are obviously influenced by selfish, personal, and party motives, rather than by a regard to justice or to the wants and interests of the people, of which ample evidence is supplied by the maintenance of enormous ecclesiastical and military establishments, and the erection of additional barracks. Thirdly—because the House of Commons refuses to entertain discussion on receiving petitions. Fourthly—because it betrays gross ignorance of the condition, interests, and wishes of the people, and utter recklessness of their welfare; and has refused either to amend the representation, repeal the corn laws, render the poor laws conformable to Christianity, sound policy, and the ancient statutes of the realm, or even inquire into the national distress; and whereas the government of Ireland by military force, the erection of additional barracks, the arming of the Chelsea out-pensioners, the augmentation of the physical force of the government, coupled with the suppression of peaceable public meetings, both in England and Ireland, furnish evidence of a disposition to rule this kingdom by an armed despotism, while the Factories Education bill and other measures have been designed to coerce conscience and to stifle freedom of opinion in religious and secular affairs, and thereby to undermine and destroy the liberties of the people; and whereas the friends of civil, religious, and commercial freedom ought, in the alarming state of our country, to unite on some common ground of action, involving no compromise, by which they may respectively be enabled to press for the removal of the

"3. And shall render periodically to the committee an account of the actual expenditure of the grant.

"4. All grants shall be made for one year only, but shall be renewable upon similar application, at the discretion of the committee.

"In distributing the funds of the association, care shall be taken not to interfere with the legal administration of relief to the poor."

Now without disparaging the charitable intentions of the projectors of this association, it is impossible to read the passages which we have marked with italics, without being struck with the conviction that the dispensation of charity is to be rendered subservient to the extension of clerical influence, and that, by the agency of a delicate system of bribery, the affections of the poor, long since alienated from the establishment, are to be regained, if possible. Every clergyman in the metropolis is to go forth with the prayer-book in one hand and a purse in the other, and by the glitter of silver coin is to throw around the compulsory church new and unwonted attractions.

If dissenters will, as we begin to hope they will, resolutely act up to their avowed principles, we shall not be greatly alarmed for the results of this novel system of proselytism. The constant activity it will call into requisition may be given by the clergy for a while, but can only be sustained by an ever-present, ever-operative religious principle. Worldly ends call forth few but worldly men—and untiring perseverance in well-doing is not to be expected from such an agency. It is a rash—it has suddenly come out upon the skin, and it will as suddenly go in again, when the excitement of the day is over. We call to mind, moreover, what we have more than once had occasion to remark, that the poor are not so blind as their superiors usually take them to be. They are shrewd observers. Kindness shown to them from any suspected ulterior motives, seldom engages their confidence. They will take the money, we doubt not, but it will scarcely change their hearts. Possibly they may be attracted to the parish church, but they will not give a whit more heed to the catechism, or pay a whit more of sincere reverence to the clergy. The whole attempt will do nothing more than whitewash a building which is rotten at its foundations—and keep up a show of popularity which, in point of fact, is delusive. Ages of ecclesiastical rapacity and oppression have left upon the hearts of the poor marks which no trickling streams of charity can now efface. We are glad, for the sake of the destitute, that these attempts are being made to win their suffrage. The sums which reach them, through whatever channel, will somewhat alleviate their distress—but, unless truth should henceforth be concealed by those who hold it, and the principles of religious liberty should be hidden under the skirt of those who profess them, we are not afraid that, in the long run, such schemes as the above will retard the hour of the church's emancipation from secular thralldom. All the defences of the compulsory system, which have been thrown up around it by such means, will prove but as stubble in the day of fiery conflict. When truth once gets head, those external props of what is inherently worthless, will only serve as fuel to the flame—and poor men will be amongst the foremost to abolish for ever the self-styled "poor man's church."

EAST LONDON RELIGIOUS LIBERTY SOCIETY.—The third district meeting of this society was held on Tuesday evening last, at Latimer chapel school rooms, Mile-end road; T. H. Fry, Esq., took the chair. The meeting was addressed by the following ministers:—J. Glanville, E. Halliday, R. Saunders, S. Davis, B. Woodyard, and G. F. White, Esq.; and resolutions, approving of the society, were unanimously adopted.

The sum of £222 has been collected in Nottingham in aid of the Free church of Scotland.

The total of the collections in aid of the Free church for the West Riding of Yorkshire, amounts to £739 5s. 6d.

THE CHAPLAINCY QUESTION.—We find from the Yorkshire papers that the poor law guardians of the city of York have lately had a discussion on the appointment of a paid chaplain for the workhouse. On a former occasion the question had been raised, and the consideration of it postponed for one twelve-month by a majority. The attendance on this occasion was large. The subject was introduced by a motion from Mr Hardman in favour of a permanent chaplain, which was opposed by Messrs Horsley, Williamson, and others. The amendment was to the following effect:—"That it is inexpedient to deviate from the amended resolution passed by this board on the 24th of August last, rejecting the appointment of a chaplain to the workhouse; and that Mr Hardman's present proposition to renew the application for such appointment be taken into consideration this day twelvemonths." A long and animated discussion ensued, which finally terminated in the amendment being carried by forty to twenty-four.

DISSENTING STATISTICS.—In the *Congregational Calendar* for 1844 we find a list of independent chapels erected and enlarged between October, 1842, and October, 1843. They amount to twenty-four new chapels (in England and Wales), and twelve rebuilt, enlarged, or opened after repairs. In the last report of the Baptist Union there is a list of thirty-seven "chapels, either new or newly occu-

pied," belonging to that denomination, in England and Wales, besides nine enlarged. Thus the new chapels erected or re-opened by these two denominations of protestant dissenters, within twelve months, appears to be sixty-one.

INTENTION OF MINISTERS TO ENDOW THE CATHOLIC CLERGY.—We hear, through a quarter of high authority, that it is actually the intention of Sir R. Peel to propose, during the ensuing session, a measure for endowing the Roman catholic clergy of Ireland, and especially granting them glebes or portions of land. We cannot vouch for the accuracy of the information, but we know that it is fully believed by some of Sir Robert Peel's own supporters, high in rank, but who have told the Premier that they shall oppose him on this question. The country will act accordingly. —*Leeds Mercury.*

ANTI-PUSEYITE MANIFESTO.—A "lay protest against tractarianism," which has created a good deal of interest among the Oxford university men, has been transmitted to Vice-Chancellor Wynter. The address expresses alarm at the deviation from the principles of the reformed church, and exhorts the authorities to protect the youth intrusted to their care, against the dangerous influence. The list of signatures begins with the names of several noblemen, and is computed to number ten thousand in all!

CHURCH RATES, BRIGHTON.—A vestry meeting was held at Brighton, on Tuesday, for the purpose of making a rate for St Nicholas and St Peter's churches. The meeting was in the number of twenty to one against making the rate, and Mr Bass, a member of the Society of Friends, moved the adjournment of the meeting for six months, which was seconded by Mr James Trega. The churchwardens proposed a rate of two-pence in the pound to meet their liabilities, which was duly seconded, but on a show of hands the motion for the adjournment was carried by a vast majority, whereupon a poll was demanded, which was opened forthwith, and at the close of the day the numbers were as follows:—For the rate, 63; against it, 189: majority against the rate, 136.

CHURCH RATES, LEAMINGTON.—A vestry meeting was held on the 13th inst, at the parish church, Leamington, to erect a church tower for the important object of containing a large peal of bells. The parishioners attended in large numbers. A vote of 24d. in the pound was moved and seconded, and also an amendment against the same. The motion was withdrawn, and the chairman (the vicar) rather abruptly dissolved the meeting, the sense of which was, nevertheless, demanded, amidst great noise and confusion, regarding the amendment, in favour of which at least four-fifths of those present held up their hands.

ILLEGAL CHURCH RATE.—The compulsory church has been attempting to carry things with a high hand at Edenfield, near Bury, Lancashire. We learn from the *Manchester Times*, that at a meeting lately held there, convened by a notice stuck on the inner door of the chapel of ease, a rate of 44d. in the pound was proposed. Several amendments were proposed, but the rev. "successor of the apostles," who filled the chair, refused to put any of them to the meeting. After some discussion on both sides, the original motion was put by the chairman, who called for a show of hands in its favour. A fair number was held up: the chairman was asked to put the contrary, which he peremptorily, and not very courteously, refused to do, on which one of the ratepayers called out, "Howd yur honds ogen th' rate." A large majority of hands was immediately held up, which, however, the chairman refused to notice, and called for those in favour of the rate to sign the book. The illegality of the rate is indisputable, and it remains to be seen whether or not the authorities will attempt to enforce it. The opponents of all compulsory payments towards religious edifices are preparing to form a union to oppose the collecting of the rate, and already some handsome sums have been promised towards a subscription for defending any legal proceedings which the chapelwardens may take.

GREENWICH.—A vestry meeting, principally for the purpose of making a church rate for the parish of Greenwich, was held on Friday evening last, in the school-room of Roan's charity, by adjournment from the church. The church party mustered much stronger than their opponents, and a rate of three-pence halfpenny was carried by 95 to 50, in spite of several powerful speeches against it. Two amendments had been proposed, which the chairman refused to put, declaring that it was his determination in future to put the question in the form of "rate" or "no rate."

SCOTTISH AFFAIRS.

WORKING OF LORD ABERDEEN'S BILL.—The case of Mr Smith of Penpont, alluded to in a late number, came before the presbytery of Edinburgh on Wednesday. After a good deal of debating as to the best mode of testing the objection, that Mr Smith's preaching was not level to the capacity of the people, they at last agreed to appoint him to preach, over again, two of the sermons which the people heard before, on Tuesday next, in the face of the whole congregation. A great crowd is expected in the Tolbooth church, Edinburgh, on Tuesday next, to witness this novel trial of ministerial gifts.

FREE CHURCH SOIREE.—(From a Correspondent.)—On Thursday night, the large hall of Tanfield was filled to excess, to hear members of the English deputations that have lately been in England, recount the success of their mission. Dr Chalmers and others were advertised to be present—with somewhat questionable morality—for it was known to the initiated, that the doctor could not possibly attend. However, upwards of 3,000 persons at-

tended; all of them in a high state of enthusiasm. Sir James Forest, the late lord provost, was called to the chair; and the speakers were Dr Candlish, Mr Tweedie, Mr Begg, Mr Guthrie, Dr Brown, of the Secession, and Mr Alexander, independent, together with two of the Free church councillors. The speeches, for the most part, were heavy; but Mr Guthrie's speech was in the true tone of Christian feeling, and, though tainted with his besetting sin of vulgar jokes, was yet worth all the rest. It may be news to Englishmen, but it is true, that the Free church party coolly talk of converting England to presbyterianism. If this were to be consummated, the people, we fear, would soon have cause to echo Milton's complaint—

"New presbyter is but old priest writ large."

Correspondence.

A CONTINUATION OF THE SCALE OF ECCLESIASTICAL TITLES.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR—I observe, with surprise, that an attempt is being made on the part of some members of the nonconforming body to deprive the dissenting ministry of its long recognised distinctive title. Now, with all deference to the better judgment of others, I would express my strong doubts of the expediency of the act; and without anything like a re-opening of the question, I may be permitted to suggest a doubt whether divines, be they dissenting or clerical, can in the present day afford to drop any of their "appliances" or external marks of respect. I shall, as connected with this subject, merely advert to a recent article in the *Spectator*, treating of a clergyman or other minister—of course not denuded of his title, and separated by a strict line of demarcation from men in general—as an indispensable necessity of human existence.

My more immediate object, however, in addressing you, is to allude to a kindred subject—viz., the ungraceful abruptness of the point at which church of England titles terminate, thus—

The archbishop, is by "divine providence—his grace the most reverend father in God the archbishop of —."

The bishop, "by divine permission—the right reverend father in God the lord bishop of —."

The dean, "the very reverend the dean of —."

The archdeacon, "the venerable and reverend the archdeacon."

The priest or deacon simply, "the reverend."

To these add academical titles; and here, so far as my imperfect information goes, the list terminates. What I venture to propose is, to carry the matter a little further, thus—

The parish clerk, an important functionary, should be at least called, "the demi-reverend."

The organist, "the semi-reverend."

The sexton, wearing a gown, "the demi-semi-reverend."

Thus would courtesy to ecclesiastical persons be carried throughout, and the maxim be unequivocally fulfilled—"honour to whom honour is due."

AN OBSERVER OF THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

Leominster.

[The following letter to the London Missionary society, a copy of which, enclosing a subscription of £5 towards the proposed Anti-state-church Convention, has been sent us, is inserted at the request of the writer.]

Tavistock, Sept. 24th, 1843.

To the Secretary of the London Missionary Society.

SIR—Having for a few years past given an extra donation to the London Missionary society towards its operations in India, I feel myself called upon to state my reasons for its withdrawal. Believing, as I do, that two of the greatest obstacles to the spread of pure Christianity is the sanction the church gives to the profession of arms, and the drinking usages of society, and being grieved in finding that your missionaries generally sanction the one and conform to the other—though there are, I am happy to say, a few pleasing exceptions; Williams, in the latter part of his life, in the South Sea Islands; and Moffat, of late years, in Africa; the labours of both of which have been much blessed, and the converts from the heathens, through their instrumentality, on their first embracing Christianity beautifully exemplified by their conduct the incompatibility of war with the spirit and precepts of Christianity.

In India, in particular, I fear your missionaries do not bear a testimony against war. I therefore feel it my duty to send the amount of my extra subscription in some other channel, where I hope it will be useful in awakening attention so as to cause the removal of those two great obstacles. I cannot but think the heart of Williams (had he been now living) would have been deeply grieved at the application of the Queen of Tahiti to this country for a ship of war to be sent to defend her against the French. Indeed, I regard that dear man as martyred by the church of Christ. When visiting this place, I heard him say, "I should not fear landing on any island, let the inhabitants be ever so savage, if I was certain no European had been there before." He landed on an island. Europeans had been there before; and, through their conduct, he was martyred. I have been given to understand that the captain who, with his men, quarreled with the natives of Erromanga, was a pious, good man.

I do not say but we may have many pious, good men in the army and navy; but they have no business there. Fifty or a hundred years ago, many of our church members bought and sold slaves; but should we now think them fit members for church communion? Excuse this hasty scrawl, as I am not accustomed to write my thoughts. Suffice to say that I am a mechanic—have been a subscriber to the London Missionary society for thirty years, and hope to continue my former annual subscription. Yours respectfully,

JOHN PEARSE.

THE GREAT CHESS MATCH AT PARIS.—The twelfth game in the great chess match between Mr Staunton and M. St Amant has been decided in favour of the Englishman. Mr Staunton has thus won nine games, M. St Amant two, and one was drawn.

The Complete Suffrage Movement.

COUNCIL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL COMPLETE SUFFRAGE UNION.

Birmingham, Dec. 18th, 1843.

The Council of the National Complete Suffrage Union met this afternoon, at their Office, 37, Waterloo street, the President in the chair.

Letters were read from Exeter, Cheltenham, Worcester, Manchester, Glasgow, Plymouth, Bristol, Cranbrook, Paxford, Truro, Treuchie, London, Crediton, and Markinch.

The following was read from John A. O'Neill, Esq., of Bunowen castle, Clifden, Ireland.

"Bunowen Castle, Clifden, Ireland,
8th Dec., 1843.

"ESTEEMED FRIEND—I have read with attention and pleasure a printed statement of the objects of the National Complete Suffrage Union. The second section extends an invitation to me, which I cordially accept, and beg you will have the goodness to propose me as a member of that invaluable institution. I quote the section to which I refer. 'II. To invite all persons to become members of this Union who are favourable to the great principle of political equality, all who belong to every description of political association or society for improving and benefiting the people, as well as persons of all creeds, classes, and opinions, who are desirous of seeing their country prosperous, enlightened, and free.'

"I claim admission under this, first, because I am favourable to the great principle of political equality; secondly, because I belong to a political society, the Irish Repeal association, which perfectly answers the above description; thirdly, because I desire to see my country (and England also) enlightened, prosperous, and free, taking that word literally.

"Whatever may be my politics in detail, I separate the question of complete suffrage from every other, thoroughly convinced that out of its establishment will grow all that rational or practical men can desire for England, a country to which I am attached by ties of the deepest gratitude and affection, if an humble individual may use such expressions towards a great nation. I never can forget my reception in, and return for, an important English borough, Hull, containing 35,000 Britons; and it will ever be a source of deep-felt pleasure to me that I served them faithfully, and received votes of thanks from every public body in that large town.

"The enlightened men of Birmingham, warned by the errors of those who embarrass a great nation by details—which will be its result, are beginning with the groundwork, not like those who waste their time in dealing with effects, and leave causes untouched. Complete suffrage is but the name of the first principle of the rights of man. It will send to parliament faithful agents, not dictators. It will deprive the rich of the power successfully to lure the poor from the path of probity and patriotism; they will be beyond the danger and infamy of being tempted to sell their birthright, the elective franchise. Complete suffrage will, in fact, annihilate corruption amongst electors; and whilst that exists it is absurd to expect purity in the representative body. Men who buy a vote will probably sell it, certainly will never respect the petitions or remonstrances of the corrupt vendors. Another vitally important and inevitable consequence of the extended suffrage will be short parliaments; and it is quite vain to hope for good public servants, unless the public has the power of promptly displacing them.

"History, the writings of the ablest civilians, scripture itself, all prove that the Complete Suffrage Union is seeking for the people, not the establishment of a new principle, but the restoration of the most ancient right vested in them, but from time to time curtailed in Great Britain, and in Ireland almost destroyed.

"One of the arguments to support every infringement on popular rights is popular acquiescence, as non-resistance is called. It is true that spoliation has taken place with but slight opposition on the part of the despoiled; but be it remembered that every invasion of popular liberty has been made under the auspices of a standing army, and that armed, and therefore arbitrary, power can easily hold in check an uncombined, and therefore inefficient, multitude.

"We read in scripture that kings were directed 'to hearken to the voice of the people,' not of an oligarchy. If monarchs and senators, titled and untitled, always respected this sacred mandate, there would be less pauperism, less profligate expenditure of the funds of the people, less selfishness, less callosity of feeling amongst the majority of the favoured children of fortune, and less actual misery, mental and bodily, amongst the great family of the human race.

"I remain, esteemed friend, truly yours,
"To Joseph Sturge. JOHN A. O'NEILL."

On the motion of Mr Morgan, seconded by Mr Albright, Mr O'Neill was unanimously received as a member of the Union, and his letter ordered to be inserted on the minutes.

THE BATH DISTRICT.—The President stated that arrangements had been made for his visiting several towns in the Bath district, in compliance with the invitations of friends of the cause there. He was to attend a conversational meeting at Cheltenham on Tuesday, December 19—to preside at a public meeting at Stroud in the evening of same day, when Mr T. Spencer will deliver a lecture on complete suffrage—attend a conversational meeting at Gloucester on Wednesday morning, the 20th, a soirée the same evening—on Thursday, the 21st, a conversational meeting at Bath, and on Friday, the 22nd, a public meeting at Bristol.

YORKSHIRE DISTRICT.—The Council arranged that the President and Secretary should visit Hull on the 26th, Huddersfield and Halifax on the 27th, Bradford on the 28th, and attend a conversational meeting and complete suffrage soirée at Leeds on the 29th inst., with the view of urging on the consideration of the friends the proposal to seek redress of grievances by moving amendments on the supplies.

LEICESTER DISTRICT.—The deputation intend to go to a soirée at Sheffield on the 3rd of January, and during the same week attend meetings at Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, and Northampton, in furtherance of the foregoing object.

DEPUTATION TO WALSALL.—The deputation to

Walsall and Wolverhampton reported that they had attended numerous and spirited meetings there on Tuesday (Wolverhampton) and Wednesday (Walsall) last—that resolutions had been passed unanimously in favour of the proposal to suspend the supplies, until the grievances of the people are investigated and redressed, with a request that the members of these boroughs should give effect to it in parliament.

MR BRIGGS'S VISIT.—The following was received from Mr Briggs:—

"Since my last I have visited Plymouth, Devonport, Truro, Falmouth, and Exeter. In Truro I held a public meeting, and after the lecture an association was formed. In Falmouth I regret to say every thing is stagnant, no one could be found to take an interest in getting up a meeting. In Devonport I had an excellent meeting, great numbers being unable to obtain admission. I had two conversational and one public meeting at Plymouth; the cause is moving well here, and our friends are active and energetic. In Exeter there is a gradually growing opinion in favour of complete suffrage."

MR VINCENT'S LECTURES.—A most interesting and encouraging account was read from Mr Vincent, as to the progress of the cause in Lancashire, where the suffrage movement has taken deep root.

GREAT COMPLETE SUFFRAGE DEMONSTRATION IN BIRMINGHAM.

BIRMINGHAM, MONDAY NIGHT.

A grand demonstration in favour of the complete suffrage cause took place this morning at our Town hall, which building, owing to the exertions of the friends of civil and religious freedom in Birmingham, has at length been opened to the public by the recent election of Thomas Weston, Esq., one of the earliest friends of the Complete Suffrage Union in this town, to the office of chief magistrate of the borough. As you are already informed, the council of the Union have been for some time successfully engaged in disseminating information respecting their principles and objects in Birmingham and other parts of the country; but here, where their chief efforts have been directed, the fruits of these exertions have manifested themselves in the most decided and gratifying manner, the strongest evidence of which was afforded by the numbers and character of to-day's meeting. The Town hall, which is capable of holding full eight thousand persons, was filled, with the exception of a portion of the great gallery; and, in estimating the numbers who were present at six thousand persons, the statement is not over-rated. But what adds to the importance of the meeting was the deep interest which all appeared to feel in the proceedings, and the impression which was produced on their minds by the argumentative and convincing speeches of Joseph Sturge, Esq., Wm Morgan, Esq., and Messrs Albright, Wilson, and the other speakers. These addresses will not end here, but will form fruitful texts for discussions and conversations in our numerous manufactories and workshops, till the masters themselves, as in the days—the "glorious days," as they were called—of the Reform bill, will be forced, by the power of public opinion, into the ranks of the people. Should anything approaching to the same energy and determination be manifested in the cause, in the great boroughs and towns of England, we may shortly hope to see a party formed in this country united by no common bond of union, and animated solely by a desire to benefit their fellow-men, and advance the moral and religious interests of the human race. One great triumph, and it is no ordinary one, which has been achieved by the labours and perseverance of the friends of complete suffrage in Birmingham is, that they have succeeded, if not in convincing, at least in persuading, that portion of the working classes who have thrown themselves more immediately into the ranks of the chartists, to hear their opinions calmly expounded and discussed. The consequence of this action on public opinion is, that we had to-day, in the hall and on the platform, the leaders and members of the chartist party in this town, who manifested, on the whole, a good feeling to the cause, and a disposition to throw no obstacles in the way of its advancement, if they did not yield it a hearty support. Nor did the meeting consist exclusively of these two parties; for, hanging on its outskirts, we observed, during the proceedings, numbers of respectable and intelligent men belonging to other sections of reformers, members of the Anti-corn-law League, jostling currency men, and some "old familiar faces" which were wont to gladden the meetings of the Political Union in its palmy days, when the name of radical Birmingham struck terror into the hearts of the monopolists. But we must hasten to our account for the proceedings.

At twelve o'clock, the hall began to fill, and the members of the Town council, who had signed the requisition, assembled in the committee room to complete their arrangements for the meeting. Shortly after twelve o'clock, Thomas Weston, Esq., mayor, accompanied by Joshua Scholefield, Esq., M.P., Joseph Sturge, C. Perry, Esq., William Morgan, Esq., Messrs Field, Collins, and upwards of thirty members of the corporation, entered the organ gallery, and were received with loud cheering. The following gentlemen were also present—Mr Thos Morgan, Mr C. H. Roe, Mr T. H. Morgan, Alderman Cutler, town councillors Palmer, Matchett, Webster, Whitfield, Barlow, Wood, Page, Goodrick, Baldwin, Gargory, Salt, Truman, Atkinson, R. Smith, C. Sturge, R. K. Douglas, Esq., A. Albright, Esq., Mr J. H. Wilson, Mr Hawkes, Mr J. Corbett, and Mr Wm Mills.

JOSHUA SCHOLEFIELD, Esq., M.P., proposed, and Mr MITCHELL seconded, that the Mayor do take the chair. The resolution was carried unanimously.

The MAYOR then took the chair, and proceeded to

read the advertisement calling the meeting, in compliance with a requisition presented to the Mayor, signed by 500 inhabitants, of whom thirty were town councillors. He also read a letter from Mr Muntz, one of the borough members, who regretted that his engagements would prevent him attending the meeting. [Mr Muntz was, however, present towards the close]. The Chairman, before proceeding to the business of the meeting, briefly adverted to the visit of Prince Albert. He hoped that the result of that meeting would testify to the country, that not only the people of Birmingham could welcome a stranger in a true English style, but that they were capable of meeting together in the Town hall to discuss and consider their grievances, and to adopt legal measures calculated to redress them. In reference to the requisition, although Mr Muntz said part of it was "undefined," he would say that although the object was not so perfectly pointed out as some friends might wish, yet it was perfectly legal and regular, and was open to discussion and consideration as the best means of obtaining the redress of their grievances through the legislature. There was nothing in it but what was lawful. No one had less doubt than himself that they had grievances which needed redress, and the proper course to obtain it was in a peaceful, lawful, and orderly manner, gathering in public opinion in their favour, and endeavouring to get redress through the instrumentality of the legislature. There was one thing, however, which he must impress upon them. That meeting was one of very great importance; the proceedings would give a tone to the agitation for the people's rights throughout the country, if they were conducted under the banner of peace, law, and order [hear, hear]; and, if no unwise proposition were brought forward, calculated to throw doubt and obscurity on their purpose, it would encourage the kingdom at large, and become an honour to the town of Birmingham. The cause of the people was now in a fair way of making progress; the timidity of the middle classes, arising from the violence of some pretended friends of the people, was now giving way—they were showing a disposition to unite heart and hand with the working classes, and to get justice and their rights attended to by the legislature. He would now only call upon them to support him in the office to which they had appointed him. He would use his utmost endeavours that the proceedings should be conducted in a regular, peaceful, and orderly manner, giving every man who had a right to address them a full, fair, and free opportunity of expressing his sentiments. At the same time he claimed to himself the right which the poorest person in that assembly enjoyed—that is, if anything which he thought unwise should be proposed, to throw back the object and compromise the meeting, that he would give his advice in a few words on the proposition, and then submit it to the good sense of the meeting. He thought he had said enough in explanation of the nature and objects of the meeting, and the means by which they were sought to be obtained; and he would now introduce to them a gentleman who had undertaken to bring forward a proposition—a name which they had heard many times, but had never heard except in connexion with justice, humanity, and the rights of their fellow creatures—a name which is honoured north, east, west, and south, and would be transmitted on the page of history, surrounded by the brightest lustre which humanity could shed around it—he meant Mr Joseph Sturge. The Mayor resumed his seat amidst loud and universal cheers.

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., then came forward, and was received with great cheering. He had had, he said, committed to his care a resolution, which in itself might be deemed a speech. He should first read it, and afterwards make a few observations upon it. Mr S. then read the following resolution:—"Whereas it is a fundamental law of the British constitution that no subject of England shall be constrained to pay any aids or taxes but such as are imposed by his own consent; and whereas, in accordance with this law, the privilege of granting or withholding the supplies is conferred exclusively upon the Commons' House of Parliament, that body being supposed to represent the subjects of the Crown; and whereas the House of Commons does not now represent the people, there being upwards of six millions of male adults in Great Britain and Ireland, and only eight hundred thousand electors, while less than a hundred and sixty thousand electors return a majority of members; and whereas the House of Commons does not possess the confidence of the people of these realms, for the following among other reasons—First—because a large proportion of the members have notoriously obtained their seats by bribery and corruption. Secondly—because parliamentary proceedings are obviously influenced by selfish, personal, and party motives, rather than by a regard to justice or to the wants and interests of the people, of which ample evidence is supplied by the maintenance of enormous ecclesiastical and military establishments, and the erection of additional barracks. Thirdly—because the House of Commons refuses to entertain discussion on receiving petitions. Fourthly—because it betrays gross ignorance of the condition, interests, and wishes of the people, and utter recklessness of their welfare; and has refused either to amend the representation, repeal the corn laws, render the poor laws conformable to Christianity, sound policy, and the ancient statutes of the realm, or even inquire into the national distress; and whereas the government of Ireland by military force, the erection of additional barracks, the arming of the Chelsea out-pensioners, the augmentation of the physical force of the government, coupled with the suppression of peaceable public meetings, both in England and Ireland, furnish evidence of a disposition to rule this kingdom by an armed despotism, while the Factories Education bill and other measures have been designed to coerce conscience and to stifle freedom of opinion in religious and secular affairs, and thereby to undermine and destroy the liberties of the people; and whereas the friends of civil, religious, and commercial freedom ought, in the alarming state of our country, to unite on some common ground of action, involving no compromise, by which they may respectively be enabled to press for the removal of the

abuses they may deem most injurious; and whereas a point of union for all reformers may be found in demanding a recurrence by parliament to the ancient and constitutional practice of considering and redressing the people's grievances before voting the supplies. It is therefore resolved, that in the deliberate opinion of this meeting the representatives of the people in parliament ought to be called on by their constituents to unite together for the purpose of forcing upon the attention of parliament the grievances of the people before voting the supplies; and that this plan of action be especially recommended, because it is perfectly practical, consistent with the functions of the House of Commons, simple in its operation, legal, just, and necessary; has been successfully used in former periods of our history to resist the encroachments of the Crown, and offers to a despairing and disheartened people the power of at once removing abuses, and of realising, at no distant period, the only security to be found against misgovernment, in that full, fair, and free representation in the Commons House of Parliament, to which they are entitled alike by the principles of equity and the British constitution." Mr STURGE then said—Fellow townsmen, in coming forward to ask you to support the resolution which I have just read, I assure you I do not advocate the course it recommends without deliberate consideration, and a deep conviction that the state of our country demands its adoption; and if it can be shown that the present House of Commons does not represent the people, may I not hope that it will be found worthy of your approval and support (applause)? The people have grievances which claim redress, and every attempt to obtain that redress has not only failed, but has been treated with indifference and contempt. If, therefore, the plan we propose is not only practical but legal, and, above all, justified on Christian principle, I anticipate that it will be adopted—may I not say unanimously—by this vast assembly. First, then, if there are any present who doubt the assertion that the House of Commons does not represent the people of England, I need only refer you to the fact that not more than one man in seven has any vote at all; and that the votes are so unequally distributed that, as stated in the resolution, 280,000 votes, or about one in thirty-six, return a majority of the members to the House of Commons (shame). In consequence of this state of things, the present majority has been obtained by the most enormous amount of bribery and intimidation ever resorted to in our national history; and it has been justly said, that it represents little more than a million and a half of money spent in bribery and corruption (hear, hear). These facts are so well known that nobody attempts to contradict them. If, however, a House of Commons so constituted had promptly attended to the grievances of the people, and honestly attempted to redress them, there might have been some ground of objection to the course recommended in the resolution. We need not, however, go far back to show that the conduct of the members in this house is in accordance with the means by which they obtained their seats (applause). We will bring forward only a small part of their proceedings, even of the last session, to prove their disregard of the claims of the people. Mr Sturge then took a review of the proceedings of the last session of parliament, adverting to the various measures passed during that time, one by one, and to the enormous extravagance displayed in the voting of the supplies. Nor is it surprising (continued Mr Sturge) that the general expenditure of the country should have exceeded the income by upwards of five millions during the last two years, to meet which, an inquisitorial income tax, pressing with equal force on the profits of industry and the proceeds of realised property, has been levied; nor that "within nine years, parliament has added by its votes forty-two millions sterling to the national debt of the country, and within three years has added eight millions sterling to the taxation of the country" (shame). Still, it may be said by some, if you wish the grievances of the people to be discussed, why not bring them forward in a substantive form, and not as amendments on the supplies? A better answer cannot, perhaps, be given to this objection than the following statement of Mr S. Crawford. Mr Sturge then read an extract from Mr Crawford's letter, in which he refers to the extreme difficulty he encountered in getting an opportunity of bringing on his motion respecting the representation of the people. This arose from various causes, but might be obviated by moving amendments on the supplies. When, said Mr Sturge, after a great deal of delay and difficulty, he succeeded in getting the motion for leave to bring in a bill to shorten the duration of parliaments, and the complete representation of the people, the first on the list, it was understood there was an intention, both on the part of the whigs and tories, to get rid of the discussion altogether, by the usual trick, in respect to motions which they dislike, that of preventing the formation of the House. Some few were aware of this, and wrote to our parliamentary friends, to ask them to be present at four o'clock, and a House was formed, but a short time after our opponents succeeded in reducing the number below 40, and a member sitting near Sir R. Peel requested that the House should be counted out, and thus the debate was quashed. Under the circumstances just stated, Sharman Crawford on the following night told Sir R. Peel plainly that he considered him a party to this disgraceful proceeding (a voice, "Right"). This Sir R. Peel denied, but treated the matter with great levity. Sharman Crawford then told the House that he would bring the question on as an amendment for the complete representation of the people, on the first motion of supply. I was in the gallery at the time, and was struck at the change which took place in Sir R. Peel's countenance—the expression of levity left him, and when this announcement was made, he at once became serious; and Sir James Graham went over to Crawford to fix a day for the motion to come on again. Sir R. Peel publicly pledged his word as a minister that he would use his ministerial influence to give him an opportunity of bringing it on. This he fulfilled literally, but under such circumstances that very little debate took place upon it. Now, this incident may appear trifling, but in connexion with many others, it confirms my opinion, that the plan we are now proposing for your adoption is the most effectual to compel a reluctant House of Commons to attend to the grievances of the people, and that it has a strong claim to the cordial support of every true friend to his country (loud applause). It is because the proposal embodied in the resolution which I have read is at once peaceable, constitutional, and consistent with Christian principles, that I would implore you to give it your earnest and warmest support (applause). Recollect that it is not against individuals,

but a corrupt system that we are waging war. I know many men in the house of Commons who are highly and justly esteemed in private life, but who, when in that house, in their character of legislators, trample the great principles of justice under feet, and appear to forget that it is as great a crime to take the penny of the poor man in taxation, without his consent, as the pound of the rich (great cheering). If we can but secure twenty men in the house who will firmly and uncompromisingly do their duty, with respect to this proposition within the walls of parliament, the triumph of justice would be near at hand (loud applause). Several have already pledged themselves; and if the people of England properly support them, all will go well (applause). The plan now proposed has strong claims on the cordial co-operation of all reformers, though many of us advocate it principally because we think it will be the means of breaking down the master evil—class legislation; and in pursuing this great object we seek the happiness of all, for while we would give to the humblest of our fellow-citizens every right, whether civil, religious, or political, possessed by the wealthiest subject in the land, we would make the property of the rich man secure, not by the income of taxes, nor by bars and bolts—not by regiments of armed soldiers and police—but by the only true security of a country, a grateful people. Mr Sturge sat down amid great applause.

Mr MORGAN then came forward, and proceeded to argue the common sense view of the question. At that very meeting he was addressing, or any other well-regulated assembly, every man had a right to stand up and propose any resolutions or amendments he might think proper, compatible with common sense or common honesty. That was all they proposed to do in the house of Commons, and if they persisted in doing so, they might rely upon it they would soon command such a hearing for the people as would ensure the removal of those grievances of which they had to complain. His friend, Mr Sturge, had referred to the Mutiny act, and he (Mr Morgan) would read the preamble of that act, from which it would pretty clearly appear that the Act admitted of the course which he (Mr Morgan) was advocating. The preamble ran thus:—"Whereas the raising or keeping a standing army within the United Kingdom, in time of peace, unless it be with the consent of parliament, is against law. And whereas it is judged necessary that a body of forces should be continued for the safety of the kingdom—the defence of the possessions of the Crown—and the preservation of the balance of power in Europe." Now, they would see that the act required that it should be judged necessary that a body of forces should be continued. Now what, he would ask, would be more easy than for any member to stand up and move that it was unnecessary? And could they not raise a debate and demand a division? And was there, he would ask, any possible course more rational? Every member of the house of Commons had an undoubted right to demand a division, and although he might lose, he would call forth such explanations and information as would arouse public indignation against the present horrible system of extravagant expenditure. He felt confident that the proposed plan was the only one which could be effectual. It was simple, and would reach the evils of the country. The people had no idea whatever of the result that would follow from such a plan of opposition—the most incalculable advantages would follow. Then there were the multifarious votes of supply. In the committees of the House of Commons, the speaker was bound to take the opinion of the House on each proposal as an independent resolution, not as an amendment. Was there anything which could be more easy than for a member to stand up, and when 80,000 soldiers were moved, to put forth an amendment that 10,000 be sufficient? (cheers). To this there could only be two results, either they would get rid of 70,000 soldiers, or they would at all events get a discussion upon the enormity of keeping up such a force in a time of profound peace; and the reiteration of this process would open the eyes of the nation, and soon lead to an alteration. The same would apply to all the other items. The House of Commons ought to represent the people, but it was clear as the sun at noon-day, that it did not represent the people (loud cheers). The House of Commons continued to receive petitions, but they had done away with discussions upon them. They admitted them into the house only to be thrust under the table. And why all this insult and neglect of the people? Because the people were divided (cheers). Yes, they were deluded and helpless. The chartist body had wielded a great power in the country (cheers). The Anti-corn-law League exercised great power (cheers). The dissenters exercised great power (cheers). But, owing to the fact that their energies were not concentrated, that they were scattered and divided, they all proved inoperative. But he saw before him a ground of hope—of great hope. He saw before him a most important meeting, because, despite of all that had taken place to divide and keep disunion amongst them, they were a united meeting (cheers). He saw before him men of various shades of politics, all combining together to concentrate their powers, and call into operation a plan which had been found effectual, and which alone could be beneficial in redressing their grievances. They had a right to protest, through their members, against the injustice of the present system of taxation. They had members of parliament now ready to carry out the plan—and it only remained for the people to say they would support them (renewed cheers). On that every thing depended. It was useless to expect anything from this plan, unless the nation were interested in it (cheers). He entreated them to remember this, and let them not be alarmed—let no member be alarmed at leading the forlorn hope. They had one hon. member with them (Mr Scholefield) who had years ago led a very forlorn hope, when he proposed a property tax. Mr Scholefield long since had requested them to adopt a property tax; Sir Robert Peel had adopted that very measure, with this difference—he wanted to have real property taxed, but Peel would and did tax the profits on trade just as heavily as of real estate.

ARTHUR ALBRIGHT, Esq., then rose to address the meeting. He said he must first congratulate the meeting and the Mayor on the position of the complete suffrage cause at this moment. They were met that day to advocate three great measures of reform, and not to sink or compromise their individual views, but to go on in harmony, and to unite their power against the monopoly of the present House of Commons. At the last municipal election he had struggled to secure the return of complete suffrage candidates, under the conviction that the country's welfare made it a matter of importance that they should have a complete suffrage

mayor, and that the voice of Birmingham, in political matters, should be no longer stifled. Young Birmingham would that there should be a complete suffrage town council; young Birmingham would that there should be a complete suffrage mayor; and young Birmingham obtained both objects. Mr Albright somewhat enlarged upon the same subject, and then proceeded to comment upon Mr Crawford's proposal. He knew it had been said that, in giving sanction to the measures of Mr Sharman Crawford, he was not acting as a Christian man, but he maintained the contrary, and would avouch his political creed, based upon the principles of morality, and deduced from the Bible, that political power ought only to be possessed in accordance with the consent of the community, exercised in subservience to their welfare, and by means which the moral laws of God permit. It had been said that an Englishman's home was his castle; but what, if his castle presented a picture of misery—his children crying for food? Such, indeed, was the hearth-stone picture of every day life—such were the direct effects of law by which the people were said to be protected. Away, then, with such dreams—away with such lying proverbs—when the tax-gatherer and the monopolist enter into the poor man's castle and rob him of a large portion of his resources; and let them learn to speak the honest truth, that they are governed by an oligarchy who only protect themselves. This was another grievance which demanded remedy, and was an additional inducement with him to lend his influence to support the measure of Mr Sharman Crawford. But it had likewise been said by a constitutional writer that taxes were voluntarily given by a grant of the House of Commons; but he, for one, protested against the appropriation of such grants which had taken place for several years. In another view, the withholding the supplies would deprive Sir Robert Peel of his right hand—physical force—for he dare not trust to moral force; for it must be recollected that without money there would be no more muskets, no more pensions; and the same observations would apply to every department of the public expenditure. Assertions had likewise been made that the machine of Mr Crawford was exceedingly beautiful, but there was not a power sufficient to work it, and the resistance was too great to be overcome, and would probably have the effect of breaking it to pieces. It remained, then, for the people to supply the steam to work the engine, and he trusted that when they saw political emancipation would accrue to them from the engine, they would rush forward in tens of thousands to Mr Crawford's aid. Why should they be twitted that some parties desired a repeal of the corn laws, some complete suffrage, and some an alteration in the currency? On the contrary, let them all join heart and hand, for the *élite* of the corn-law repealers were with the advocates of complete suffrage, and only waited the settlement of their own question, to lend their assistance to their fellow-countrymen in gaining for them political emancipation. Let him, then, urge upon his hearers the instant application of the remedy. Let them not suffer the aristocracy to take the supplies, for if they once possessed the power of taking money wholesale, there was no use in having representatives at all, and another Oliver Cromwell might as well bring down his soldiers and turn all the members out. Mr Albright concluded by exhorting the meeting to depend solely upon their own exertions, and by quoting some lines from a liberal poet of the United States.

J. H. WILSON, Esq., secretary of the National Complete Suffrage Union, then addressed the meeting. The proposal of the member for Rochdale, he said, presents a basis on which the friends of civil, religious, and commercial freedom, may consistently unite, and demand the redress of grievances, the evils of which all are prepared to acknowledge, and for the removal of which many are now ready to contend. Let us endeavour to illustrate and enforce this proposition, drawing our materials, in the first place, from the church, the bench, and the bar. Next session of parliament large sums of money will be proposed to be voted for the benefit of the church establishment. Now, suppose that when the first vote is moved some independent member of the house rises and presents a petition from the friends of religious liberty, declaring that church establishments are a grievance, and praying that they may be abolished, and their revenues applied to the legitimate purposes of the state. On the faith of that petition he would be entitled to move an amendment, that the vote be suspended until the charge of the petitioners be investigated and redressed. Taking the question of expediency merely, he could show that, according to the statistics of the London Record, the organ of the Church, there are now fourteen millions of dissenters in Great Britain and Ireland, and but ten millions of people in connexion with the established church. He might also contend that the church has miserably failed to serve the ends for which she was instituted; and in support of this argument he could show that, by the returns sent to the privy council by the archbishops and bishops themselves, out of 5,089 benefices but 1,990 have resident clergymen—that in the county of Kent there are at this moment thirteen parishes without a single church or resident clergyman; in West Somerset sixteen parishes, in which there have been no resident parsons within the memory of any living man; and yet in both these counties the tithes were fully collected. That establishment, too, in addition to an annual income of 8,000,000 sterling, has received from the public purse during the last forty-three years 2,935,646l. 18s. 4d. [shame]. The amendment, he shall suppose, is seconded by an independent member from Ireland. Just look at the facts he might adduce. In Ireland there are upwards of 7,000,000 of dissenters, and but seven hundred thousand persons in connexion with the established church. They might, therefore, look to Ireland for support. The same might be said of Wales, and still more emphatically of Scotland, where the church establishment was practically defunct. In referring to Scotland, Mr Wilson related the following anecdote. There is a church in Inverness-shire in which the son of the minister was some years ago appointed assistant and successor to his father. In May last the young pastor succeeded from the establishment, with many others, and his flock went with him. The old man, judging it useless to preach to an empty church, gave up preaching. For this he was summoned to appear before the presbytery, and ordered to resume his duties, and told that if he had not a congregation he must find one [a laugh]. Well, last Sunday the church bell was rung as formerly, but at the time of worship his only auditor was his own wife [a laugh]. Leaning over the pulpit, he thus addressed the old lady:

"My dear, I need not lecture you, I can do that at home, so we shall just go over the way and hear Tom" [roars of laughter]. Now this is not exactly a fair specimen of the state of the Scottish church at the present moment, there being not a few good men and true yet within her pale, but as a church establishment, I repeat, she is practically defunct, and, therefore, ought to be abolished ["Hear, hear," and cheers]. On this ground, not a few of the Scotch members would readily support the amendment [applause]. Thus much for the first part of the petition. What shall we say of the second—that the revenues of the church should be applied to the legitimate purposes of the state [hear]. The principle of appropriation has already been sanctioned by parliament. That is one step in the right direction—one grievance removed; and if the example of other nations be of any weight, the other will speedily follow [hear]. He proceeded to cite the examples of other nations, and demonstrated that the state church of Great Britain was a greater enormity than that of any other country on the face of the globe. Now, with such facts as these adduced in support of the amendment, it is difficult to conceive on what principle of justice or expediency the vote could be pressed. On other grounds the vote would be indefensible. Now, then, the case stands thus:—A large sum of the people's money is sought to support an institution which has lost the people's confidence. Plainly and palpably the friends of religious freedom are asked to pay for that which they declare to be ruinous to the moral, the mental, and by implication to the physical health of society. Can they let the vote pass in silence with impunity? They cannot, they dare not do it [applause]. Well, but the vote is put, and he shall say carried. Might triumph over right, and the combined influence of Scotland, England, Ireland, and Wales goes in the meantime for nothing. Let us now glance at the bench and the bar. I hold in my hand a paper marked number three of the miscellaneous estimates of last year. It is entitled, "Law and Justice." Now for this law and justice you had to pay in the year 1841, £310,000; in 1842, £840,000; and in 1843, £860,000; and the presumption is that in 1844 we shall have to pay nearly a million sterling. Now, what the "justice" of the case may be, I shall not pretend to say; but a few specimens will serve to give you some idea of the "law." After giving several illustrations Mr Wilson proceeded. Well, now, when this vote for law and justice is proposed, it might be opposed on financial, moral, and commercial grounds. Well, the motion is put, and the amendment we shall say is lost again. What next? The "war of reduction," which Mr Morgan has so ably stated to the meeting. This is the principal ground on which the member for Rochdale suggests that the battle should be fought. It opens up the whole subject of civil liberty. We have conquered China, or part of it, and we must have a standing army there to keep it in subjection. By physical force we have aroused the diabolical passions of the people, and ten to one if we ever subdue them [hear, hear]. You will be called upon for your money next session of parliament to keep the Chinese in subjection. Are you prepared to vote that money? By the last mail from India, we learn that schemes were plotting and planning for the occupation of the Punjab. Here again there would be a loss of British men and British money. Are you prepared to vote those men and that money? (no, no). But to come near home. Are you prepared to vote British men and British money to subvert the people of Ireland in the free exercise of their political rights? (no, no). Well, on these grounds the war of reduction may be profitably and constitutionally fought [hear]. But suppose all these amendments are defeated, what shall be done next? Why, the report must be brought up, and then the member for Rochdale takes his stand on moving, as an amendment, that the report be not received until the people are fully, fairly, and freely represented in the house of Commons. Mr Wilson dwelt at some length on this part of his subject, and concluded. Well, but the amendment is put, and perhaps the amendment is lost. Be it so; the thousands of items on which the same fight may be continued, and these, if we get the men—the very few men we want, as we hope and believe we shall—will be contested; and if all should fail, then we shall have the consolation of knowing that we have exhausted the last source of constitutional compulsion within the House; and will, therefore, be in a better position to appeal more absolutely to the people, never to cease our moral, peaceable, and constitutional agitation until the people are fully, fairly, and freely represented in the Commons' house of parliament. Mr Wilson sat down amid great applause.

Mr GREEN said he believed the best course they could pursue was to stop the supplies at once. If the wants of the people were not soon redressed, they would, beyond all question, have an awful crisis to face. He was glad to see that the Complete Suffrage society had taken up the subject; but he rejoiced still more that the men with whom the meeting had originated had given up all hope, unless through the medium of an extension of the real rights and liberties of the people.

The MAYOR then put the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Mr Councillor BALDWIN, in a very brief speech, moved the addresses of the electors to the members for the borough on the subject of Mr Crawford's plan, which we inserted in a late number.

Mr Councillor GARGORY, in a brief speech, seconded the resolution.

Mr MASON then came forward, and said it was most gratifying to him, who had so long advocated the cause of the people's charter, to find those who had held back from them now coming forward, and with all their might eagerly endeavouring to effect those great changes without which they well knew they could not succeed in wringing justice from their rulers. He rejoiced at that meeting, because it was a complete new era in the political affairs of Birmingham, and he hoped he might say, in the affairs of the country. He and the chartists were now ready to join the Complete Suffrage association in telling Sir Robert Peel that they would no longer sanction him in the application of the people's money, until they were raised from their present low and degraded position [cheers]. They were determined to unite with the middle class men who had now advanced to meet them, and to declare they would not sanction any outlay of money for the support of a government in which they could feel no interest, and from which they derived no good [loud cheers]. He most cordially supported the address to the non-electors; believing that if they could now only get ten honest members in the house of Commons to support Mr Crawford, they would create such a feeling in the country as would secure them fifty real friends of the country in the event

of a change in either the ministry or the parliament. Ordinary means had failed. The men in power had resisted every application; and, if Mr Crawford was well backed up, he would annoy the hard-hearted, and bring the system to an end. Mr Mason then read an address from the non-electors to the members for the borough.

Mr DUFFY seconded the resolution, observing that it was long, but it was no less important. The example which the men of Birmingham had set in every respect that day would be imitated; they would soon hear of similar meetings, of similar concessions on the part of those who were divided, and they would, he hoped, have to date from that meeting the commencement of such an organisation, as would prove to their rulers the impossibility of continuing their present absolute and despotic course. He hailed the proposed plan of Mr Crawford, as one calculated to produce immense results, and for the honour of Birmingham he most sincerely hoped that Mr Crawford would have to number among his supporters the two honourable gentlemen he saw on his right hand [cheers].

Mr J. H. MORGAN (baptist minister) moved the next resolution of congratulation to the members for the borough, and said that he felt very desirous that they should assist Mr Crawford in the plan laid down for carrying out the purposes of the meeting. Much had been said about grievances, and no doubt they existed, not only in all parts of England, but in Ireland also. The Anti-corn-law League demanded redress; those who were opposed to the poor laws asked that that subject should receive attention; and those who, like himself, were opposed from principle to a religious establishment also required that question should have consideration.

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., said he felt great pleasure in seconding the motion. The public should judge from votes and not from speeches, and he would assert that there were few members whose votes would better bear examination.

JOSHUA SCHOLEFIELD, Esq., M.P., then came forward, and was received with loud and repeated cheering, after which he said it was, he believed, well known to all connected with the borough, that he had never in his life made any difference between electors and non-electors—they were all equally entitled to protection in his estimation, and the result of his conduct had been, that he had the satisfaction of knowing that he never, during his connexion with the representation of the borough, received any expression of dissatisfaction on the part of his constituents [hear, hear]. With respect to the plan proposed by Mr Sharman Crawford, he could only say he should be ashamed of himself if he refused to support him or any other man in the house of Commons who might bring forward a legitimate measure for the relief of the country; but he must say he doubted whether Mr Crawford could carry out his plan to the extent proposed. He was fully aware of the opposition with which every honest reformer was assailed in the house of Commons by those who ought to listen with attention, and lend their aid towards carrying those measures which they too often scouted with disdain. Against such conduct he had always protested, and should continue to do so while he enjoyed their confidence.

GEORGE FREDERICK MUNTZ, Esq., M.P., said he would not pledge himself to follow the example of any man. Mr Sharman Crawford was an honest reformer—a very good man; but, however good he might be, he (Mr Muntz) would not pledge himself to his policy. He well knew that Mr Crawford would have great difficulty in carrying out his plan; indeed, he (Mr Muntz) did not hesitate to say the plan was bad in principle. What would be the result? He (Mr M.) had always declared that he would be their representative, but not the delegate of any man. He would suppose Mr Crawford made a mistake, and that he (Mr M.) should blindly follow him. What would they say, or who could excuse it? Why the fact was, those who now wished him to pledge himself, would be the first to blame him if he fell into any irregularity by such conduct. As he had always done he should continue to do—namely, fairly and honestly to represent them, regardless of any trifling consideration. He had always been of opinion that the working classes stood in need of more protection, more care, and more attention, than any other portion of the community, because they were so much less able to protect themselves; but he could not pledge himself to any particular course of action any man in the house of Commons might think proper to adopt.

Mr W. MORGAN said he thought Mr Muntz had not done himself justice, as he had unfortunately been prevented hearing the last resolution, and the views of those who proposed it. They did not propose to pledge any man to follow Mr Crawford's policy, nor to support his amendments, but they asked him to do what he was quite sure would be done—exercise his own common sense upon amendments which the members might propose; and as to himself, make a point of always bringing forward their own grievances and petitions at a time when the House of Commons would be in a situation that they must listen—namely, when supplies were moved [cheers].

Mr ALBRIGHT then moved the adoption of an address from the inhabitants of Birmingham, assembled in public meeting, to the inhabitants, especially the electors, of ——— (the place being left blank, to be filled up as occasion requires); which was carried with acclamation.

Councillor BARLOW moved, and Councillor GOODRICK seconded, the adoption of a petition to the legislature for a redress of the people's grievances, which was carried unanimously.

Mr ALBRIGHT then urged the non-electors of Birmingham to sign the address to the members for the borough to support Mr Crawford's measures, for, without holding hard upon the public purse-strings, they would never obtain what they sought, were they as eloquent as Job, and as pathetic as Jeremiah. Mr A. read an address to different boroughs of the kingdom.

Councillor FIELD seconded the resolution, which was carried.

A vote of thanks was then passed to the Mayor with three times three, after which the meeting separated at half-past five o'clock.

WOLVERHAMPTON.

ON Tuesday evening, the 12th inst, a numerous and spirited public meeting was held in the large hall of the Mechanics' Institution, Queen street, for

the purpose of considering what steps should be taken by the friends of civil, religious, and commercial freedom, during the next session of parliament, to obtain a redress of the people's grievances. Dr Simpkins was unanimously called to the chair. After a few explanatory remarks, he introduced a deputation from the Council of the National Complete Suffrage Union, consisting of the President, the Treasurer, and the Secretary, whose special object in attending the meeting was, to state and enforce the proposal of the hon. member for Rochdale, that the people should now claim from their representatives a recurrence to the constitutional principle, that the grievances of the people should be investigated and redressed before the supplies are voted. Mr STURGE first addressed the meeting, and submitted such a statement of facts, illustrative of the evils of class legislation, as clearly proved the necessity of the friends of civil, religious, and commercial freedom making a united effort to obtain for the people full, fair, and free representation. He was a friend to the abolition of the corn laws, and the removal of all the restrictions on trade and commerce; and, therefore, he was pleased to see the efforts made by the leaders of the Anti-corn-law League to obtain the repeal of the corn laws; but believing, as he did, that the cause of these and other evils from which this country was now suffering, was to be found in the non-representation of the people, he could not but despair of seeing permanent prosperity while that cause remained [applause]. And were he not satisfied in his own mind that the proposal to move amendments on the supplies, until the grievances of people were investigated and redressed, would tend to promote the complete representation of the people, he for one would not support it [applause]. He did not intend to go into the details of that proposal, as those who were to follow him would do so; but he could not conclude without bearing testimony to the honest and straightforward conduct of one of the members for Wolverhampton, at least, and expressing his earnest hope that they would both see it to be their duty to oppose the voting away of the people's money until their grievances were investigated and redressed. Mr A. ALBRIGHT next addressed the meeting, and went fully into the proposed movement for obtaining the redress of grievances; he quoted largely from Mr Crawford's letters to the President of the Complete Suffrage Union; and showed that but a very few members in the house, backed by public opinion, would be sufficient to compel even a despotic majority to concede the just demands of the people. Mr PIERCE then moved,

"That in the judgment of this meeting, the present position and prospects of this country render it necessary that the friends of civil, religious, and commercial freedom, should claim from their representatives a recurrence to the constitutional principle, that the grievances of the people should be investigated and redressed before the supplies are voted; and that the members for Wolverhampton be earnestly requested to give effect to it, until the people are fully, fairly, and freely represented in parliament."

The motion having been seconded, Mr J. H. WILSON spoke to it, and adduced a number of facts, to prove that the present and future prospects of the country were such as raised the necessity for resorting to the constitutional and just proposal of the honourable member for Rochdale. The resolution was then put, and carried unanimously, as also one for a committee, to take into consideration the propriety of requesting the mayor to call a town meeting on the subject. The proceedings of the meeting were of the most interesting and encouraging character, and at the close, votes of thanks to the Chairman, for his able conduct in the chair, and to the deputation, were unanimously passed.

WALSALL.

ON Wednesday evening, a public meeting was held in the large hall, at the Black Boy, in Walsall, to hear a deputation from the Council of the Complete Suffrage Union, in support of the proposal by W. S. Crawford, Esq., M.P., that the people should claim from their representatives a recurrence to the constitutional principle that their grievances should be investigated and redressed before the supplies are voted. The attendance was numerous, and most attentive to the addresses of the deputation. Mr STURGE was the first speaker. He introduced the subject by a statement of facts in proof of the necessity of resorting to the extreme measure which the proposal involved, and was followed by Mr ALBRIGHT. A resolution, similar to the one passed at Wolverhampton, was then moved and seconded, and spoken to by Mr J. H. WILSON. He believed that if the plan of operation succeeded, it must lead to an organic reform of the representation; if it failed, the friends of equal rights would have the satisfaction of knowing that they had exhausted the last resource for obtaining redress within the house, and thus be led to throw themselves more absolutely on the constituencies without, with the view of returning such representatives as would legislate on the principle that the government exists for the people, and not the people for the government. The resolutions were unanimously carried; the different speakers were repeatedly cheered. The interest of the meeting was sustained to the last, and a committee appointed to make arrangements for further operations, in support of the cause of political freedom within the borough of Walsall.

TAVERSTOCK.—The friends of complete suffrage in this town had the gratification of a visit the other day from Mr Beggs, of Nottingham, when he delivered two excellent lectures; and the consequence was, that at the close of the second, it was resolved to request the portreeve to call a public meeting to memorialise our members on the subject of W. S. Crawford's motion. The meeting was accordingly convened on Saturday last, the 16th inst, and after several able and spirited speeches by Messrs John

Pearse, R. Yelland, S. Carter, J. Seecombe, H. Solly, T. Arnold, and J. Brownson, the following resolutions were unanimously carried, amidst enthusiastic approbation. We omit the memorial, as too long for insertion.

Resolved 1st. "That this meeting, deeply impressed with the deplorable amount of suffering and crime which unhappily prevails to so great an extent in this country, desires to draw the serious attention of the members of parliament for this borough to the duty, as well as the urgent necessity, of aiding to procure such just and Christian enactments as should remove those deplorable evils, which have been brought upon the people by the selfish legislation of an irresponsible government."

Resolved 2nd. "That in the opinion of this meeting the mode of parliamentary agitation for the purpose of securing a full, fair, and free representation of the people, proposed by W. Sharman Crawford, as detailed in the letters addressed to the Council of the Complete Suffrage Union, is in every respect worthy of the support of every honest member of the people's house; and that an address be presented to the members of this borough, requesting them to give their strenuous support to a proposition, so just in itself, and at the same time so constitutional, as that grievances should be investigated, and as far as practicable redressed, before the people's money is voted for supplies."

DEVONPORT, DEC. 11.—A very large meeting was held in this place, on Monday evening, to hear an address from Mr Beggs, of Nottingham. The room was crowded to excess, and great numbers were unable to obtain admission. Mr Trevellin was called to the chair, who briefly introduced Mr Beggs, who spoke at length on the political aspect of the nation—the evils of class legislation—and the remedy proposed by the Complete Suffrage Union. The lecturer was warmly applauded throughout, and sat down amid the greatest enthusiasm. Thanks were carried by acclamation. The cause of political equality is progressing in this place.

PLYMOUTH.—On Tuesday evening last, a large and influential meeting was held in the hall of the Mechanics' institute, to hear an address from Mr T. Beggs, delegate from the National Complete Suffrage Union. Mr Sparrow, who was unanimously called to the chair, apologised for his being taken by surprise, and consequently not prepared to address the meeting at any length. He made a few pertinent remarks, and declared his adherence to the principles of complete suffrage [much cheering]. Mr Beggs was introduced to the meeting, and received with cheers. He began by adverting to the evils which had been brought upon the country by mis-government, and how legislation had hitherto been a problem to the people at large. Intimately interested in good government, it was high time that they began to pay attention to their rulers, and arrest the progress of that power which had always been exercised by the few at the expense of the many, and for the selfish purposes of the aristocracy [cheers]. Mr Beggs then continued to address the meeting at some length on the present state of representation, the necessity of complete suffrage, and Mr Sharman Crawford's plan of parliamentary agitation; the reference to which, by the lecturer, was received with great enthusiasm. Mr Beggs's reception was very gratifying throughout, and we are glad to find his address noticed, at some length, in one of the local papers—the *Plymouth Journal*. Votes of thanks to the lecturer and chairman were carried with acclamation.

STOCKPORT, LANCASHIRE.—At length practical and efficient steps have been taken for the organisation of a complete suffrage union in this important town. A deputation having waited upon Mr Vincent at Manchester, it was arranged that a preliminary meeting should be held on Monday last. Accordingly circulars were issued to above 300 of the most influential reformers, inviting them to meet Mr Vincent and a deputation from Manchester, in the Commercial news room. The room was crowded at eight o'clock, and the door had to be thrown open, numbers standing in the lobby of the hall. Mr Vincent was accompanied by Mr William Perkins, Mr F. Warren, Mr Wigan, and Mr Evans, of Manchester. On the motion of Mr Baker (the respected pastor of the baptist church), Alderman Hollins was called to the chair. Mr Hollins stated that he had long been desirous to see a complete suffrage union established in Stockport. He was convinced of the justice of complete suffrage principles, and would be happy to do all in his power to carry them into effect. The meeting was then addressed by Frederick Warren and William Perkins on the plan of organisation, and the steps necessary to be taken by the friends of the cause. Their very effective addresses were received with repeated applause. Henry Vincent, who was welcomed by loud cheers, addressed the meeting at length, explanatory of the rise and progress of the Complete Suffrage Union, as well as in defence of its principles and objects. He was warmly cheered throughout. Mr Baker (baptist minister) then moved a resolution, to the effect, "that a complete suffrage union be immediately formed for the borough of Stockport," and he appended to his resolution the names of about thirty gentlemen to carry the resolution into effect. Mr Baker, after complimenting Mr Vincent for his address, proceeded to say that he was thoroughly convinced of the justice of complete suffrage; and he was happy to find, by the enthusiasm of so respectable a meeting, that the subject was likely to be taken up in earnest by the men of Stockport. He had watched the progress of the cause with peculiar delight; and from its commencement, he had observed its close connexion with the cause of temperance and peace. He was convinced the movement would succeed; and most happy should he be to be counted worthy to lend it his humble aid [great cheers]. The resolution was seconded by Mr Allison (formerly a leading member of the chartist body), who stated that the proposed society would receive the hearty support of the working classes. The resolution was carried unanimously, with great applause. Votes of thanks were given to Mr Vincent, the Manchester deputation, and the Chairman, and the meeting separated. A most efficient union will soon exist here. Alderman

Hollins (a large manufacturer) will be its president. This gentleman has adopted in his mill a plan worthy of imitation by all mill-owners. He has founded an institution of a literary and political character, composed of himself, his overlookers, and his men. Weekly meetings are held in a large room in the mill, for the discussion of political and economical subjects; and the result is an amicable and an affectionate intimacy between employer and employed. Oh that masters generally would adopt this course! They would then soon discover that their interests and their men were dependent one upon the other; and a union would soon be created, that no tyrant government could grapple with. Mr Hollins is entitled to the thanks of the friends of enlightenment and progression for the spirited step he has taken.

MANCHESTER, TUESDAY, DEC. 12.—Mr Vincent delivered his third lecture, in the Wellington rooms, this night. The immense building was crowded by a highly respectable audience. His subject was "Complete Suffrage, sanctioned by the Theory of the Constitution." Joseph Leese, Esq. (of the firm of Kershaw, Leese, and Co.), was unanimously called to the chair. He avowed his willingness to do anything in his power for the advancement of complete suffrage. He had taken up the cause, because he was convinced of its truthful character, and because it would always be carried on in a spirit of peace and charity. Mr Vincent was received with repeated cheers, and addressed the meeting for upwards of two hours. The audience displayed the most animated attention to his important subject; and only interrupted him by their hearty cheers. These meetings swell nightly in numbers and respectability. It is delightful to witness the attendance of men eminent for their piety at all these meetings—a proof that our good cause is laying firm hold upon the conscience of the nation. A vote of thanks was given to Mr Leese. A number of persons joined the Union.

SALFORD.—On Wednesday night Henry Vincent addressed a large meeting of the suffragists of Salford in the Town hall. Frederick Warren occupied the chair. Mr Vincent's address was received with great cordiality; and at the conclusion a vote of thanks was given him, with three cheers. The friends of the cause in Salford are anxious to found a news room, as a rallying point or centre for the advocates of the suffrage; and they are now making efforts to obtain a suitable room.

MANCHESTER, THURSDAY.—This evening the Council of the Complete Suffrage Union took tea with Mr Vincent in their rooms in Lever street. An interesting conversation took place on the prospects of the movement, and a report was made of the success of the soirée. There was a surplus of money in hand after the payment of all expenses, including those incurred at the great meeting at the Corn exchange. A committee was unanimously appointed to get up addresses from the electors and non-electors, to the members for Manchester, calling upon them to support the plan of Sharman Crawford for stopping the supplies. Several thousand copies of the article, "Grounds of Encouragement," from the *Nonconformist*, were ordered to be printed.

FRIDAY NIGHT.—Mr Vincent delivered his last lecture in Manchester this evening, to a crowded and highly respectable audience, in the Wellington rooms. At eight o'clock Mr Vincent, Col. Thompson, and John Brooks, Esq. (the president of the Union), entered the room, and were loudly cheered. John Brooks, Esq., took the chair. After a short speech he stated that Col. Thompson was present, and would offer a few remarks prior to Mr Vincent's lecture. The worthy colonel was received with great cheering, and addressed the meeting briefly; in the course of which he said—"I always feel a sort of paternal feeling for Henry Vincent, because I always understood that one of my small agitations was the means of rousing him into more active life. I feel thankful for this; for perhaps it was one of my lucky hits amidst many unlucky ones [loud cheers and laughter]. I rejoice to see him thus engaged, in a way so highly creditable to himself, and of so much advantage to the cause of truth" [loud cheers]. Mr Vincent was then hailed with great applause, and he addressed the people at length on the moral influence of complete suffrage. At the conclusion a vote of thanks was given, with three times three cheers.

MR SPENCER'S LECTURES.—That prince of lecturers, Thos Spencer, A.M., of Hinton Charterhouse, delivered, last week, according to announcement, four lectures on the principles of complete suffrage, at Shoreditch, Kingsland, St John's square, Clerkenwell, and Hackney. The chair was ably sustained on the several occasions by Geo. Offer, Esq., John Cox, baptist minister, of Shacklewell, and Drs Price and Cox. The attendance was most encouraging—many being unable to obtain admittance. The lecturer excelled himself, at Kingsland and Hackney especially, where there was a large attendance of the members of Christian churches. Strains of pure, simple, and scriptural eloquence poured from the lips of the amiable and faithful minister, for two hours, carrying conviction to every open-minded and truth-loving hearer. He connected the great question with the purest Christianity—the gospel. He proved it the duty of a Christian, as such, to take it up and carry it forward, as fraught with glory to God and good will to man. It is much to be regretted that no reporter was present, but we believe the committee were restrained in their efforts for want of funds. Many thanks are due to the Newington and Kingsland association for this energetic effort, and for the efficient manner in which the meetings were sustained. Messrs Evans of Mile end, E. Miall of Newington, Clarke of Walthamstow, J. H. Hare, Dr Oxley, and other gentlemen, supported the votes of thanks to the lecturer and chairman.

It is with confidence we repeat, the effects were encouraging, and will be seen after many days; and we hope an increase of subscriptions and donations will sustain the associations, and enable them again to bring to the city of London and its suburbs, this friend of man.—*From a Correspondent*.

FINSBURY.—On Thursday evening last, Mr Spencer delivered a lecture on the state of the representation, at the chapel, St John's square, Clerkenwell. The place was densely crowded, and numbers were obliged to go away. Indeed, a place of twice the size might have been well filled. Dr Price took the chair, and opened the proceedings with a brief address, enforcing the principles which they had met that night to discuss, upon the attention of the audience. He then introduced Mr Spencer, who was exceedingly well received, and who addressed the meeting with great power and effect for about an hour and a half. The Christian-like and argumentative manner in which his statements were put forth, made a great impression on the audience, more especially that portion of his lecture in which he explained Mr Crawford's plan for obtaining from parliament a redress of grievances, and which he commended to their attention. Votes of thanks to the lecturer and chairman were carried with acclamation.

EDINBURGH COMPLETE SUFFRAGE UNION.—At a meeting of the committee of the Complete Suffrage union on Wednesday evening, it was resolved to call a public meeting in support of the plan proposed by Mr Sharman Crawford for obtaining a redress of grievances from parliament. The meeting is to take place on Thursday the 28th instant.—*Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle*.

NEWCASTLE AND GATESHEAD COMPLETE SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.—The annual meeting was held on Wednesday evening, at Wilcke's Temperance hotel, Royal Arcade. Mr Rae, at the suggestion of the Council, moved a resolution, pledging the society to support Mr Sharman Crawford's plan of operations in the House of Commons, and to obstruct the government in their application for supplies, until the grievances of the people be redressed. Mr R. supported his motion at considerable length, and it was unanimously passed. The society resolved to raise £50 for purposes of agitation, and £10 was subscribed in the room. The remainder of the proceedings were of a routine description. [The South Shields society met on the same evening, and adopted a similar motion. A deputation was appointed to wait on Mr Wawn, and request him to co-operate with Mr Crawford.]

SHEFFIELD SOIRÉE.—The committee of this union have determined on having a soirée, in honour of their principles, on Wednesday, the 3rd of January. The following gentlemen, who are all distinguished advocates of complete suffrage, are invited to attend:—Joseph Sturge, Esq.; Sharman Crawford, Esq., M.P.; J. A. Roebuck, Esq., M.P.; Dr Bowring, M.P.; Colonel Thompson; Ebenezer Elliot, Esq.; John Brooks, Esq.; Lawrence Heyworth, Esq.; Rev. T. Spencer; Rev. J. E. Giles; Henry Vincent, Esq.; Dr Smiles; Captain Wood; W. Wood, Esq.; and R. R. R. Moore, Esq. The borough members are also invited. The Rev. T. Spencer, of Hinton, near Bath, is engaged to deliver a political lecture, before the members and friends of the Complete Suffrage Union, on Tuesday evening, the 2nd of January. It is anticipated, the well-known talents of Mr Spencer, added to the novelty of his being a minister of the established church, will draw a large audience to hear him.—*Sheffield Independent*.

IRELAND.

THE LANDLORD AND TENANT COMMISSION.—The commissioners have appointed as their secretary Captain Pitt Kennedy, who had filled an office of considerable importance connected with the National board of Education some years since, and who has written some works on the state of agriculture in Ireland, and the condition of the peasantry. It has been determined to continue the examination of witnesses up to Thursday next (to-morrow), on which day the commission is to adjourn for the Christmas holidays. The 3rd of January is the day fixed for the recommencement of the inquiry. Arrangements are in progress calculated to render the labours of the commission very effective and eminently useful, in the way at least of a full disclosure of the whole land tenure system in Ireland, with all its train of evils. The commissioners have very properly determined to receive legitimate evidence from all quarters, without reference to political distinctions. A committee, consisting of Sir Colman O'Loglen, Mr John O'Connell, M.P., Mr Moriarty, and others, have undertaken the task of receiving communications on the subject of land tenure, in order to analyse and prepare evidence to be submitted to the commissioners.

THE STATE TRIALS.—THE DEFENCE.—The *Corr Reporter* of Saturday says—"Two of the counsel for the traversers, Messrs O'Hea and O'Callaghan, have been occupied for the past week in collecting and arranging evidence for the defence, in reference to the 'monster' meetings in this locality. They proceed in a day or two to Skibbereen for the same purpose."

Mr O'Connell is at Derrynane, in the best health and spirits, and indulging in the enjoyment of his mountain sports.

SCOTLAND.

ANOTHER PROSECUTION FOR BLASPHEMY IN EDINBURGH.—We understand that Miss Roaf, a young lady who some weeks ago opened a shop in Nicholson street for the sale of irreligious publications, was apprehended on Monday last, and lodged in gaol, preparatory to her trial for blasphemy.—*Scotman*.

UNIVERSITY TESTS IN SCOTLAND.—The spirit of liberality, we are gratified to mark, is on its march in the universities. On Saturday last the senate of Marischal college and university, Aberdeen, by a majority of seven to four, adopted resolutions condemnatory of the exaction of religious tests from lay professors.—*Glasgow Chronicle*.

HEALTH AND CLEANLINESS.—We learn from the *Aberdeen Herald* that a movement in favour of public baths has been commenced in that town. A public meeting was held last week on the subject, and there is every prospect of two or three public bathing establishments being shortly set on foot. The place possesses great facilities for carrying out so laudable an object.

DEPUTATION FROM THE ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.—We understand that a deputation of the council of the National Anti-corn-law League is to be in Scotland on the 10th of January next, and to remain till the 20th, visiting as many towns as the time will permit, with the view of diffusing information regarding the objects of the League, and promoting subscriptions in aid of the fund of £100,000. The deputation is to consist of Mr Cobden, M.P., Mr Bright, M.P., Colonel Thompson, and Mr R. Moore. Meetings are definitively fixed for Glasgow on the 10th, and Edinburgh on the 11th, January. The Edinburgh meeting is to be held in the New Music hall; the Lord Provost in the chair.—*Scotsman*.

DUNFERMLINE.—With extreme regret we refer to the suspension of payment by the largest house in the Dunfermline table-linen manufacture—that of Mr George Birrel. The liabilities are variously stated, but there seems little doubt that they will not be under £50,000.—*Fife Herald*.

ROYAL MOVEMENTS.—It is stated on good authority, that her Majesty and Prince Albert will visit Warwick castle in about six weeks, and that the Queen has determined to take advantage of the opportunity of visiting Birmingham.—*Birmingham Advertiser*.

ANOTHER ROYAL TRIP.—VIENNA, Dec. 5.—It is confidently affirmed, that it is the intention of Queen Victoria to visit the banks of the Rhine next spring, and that she will remain some time in that neighbourhood. According to some accounts, her Majesty will take up her residence in the palace of Bruhl, whilst others state that the palace of Stollenfels will be prepared for her reception. Persons who have the opportunity of knowing the fact, state that a numerous assemblage of crowned heads will meet on the banks of the Rhine, probably at Coblenz.—*Silesian Journal*.

Friday night's *Gazette* contains the proclamation for further proroguing Parliament from the 19th instant, and summoning it to meet for the despatch of business on the 1st of February.

Another announcement is the appointment of "her Majesty's Attorney-general for the island of Hong-kong"—Mr Paul Ivy Sterling.

The bank of England issued on Friday a further notice respecting sovereigns. On and after the 2nd January next, the bank will receive gold coin below the current legal weight, in sums of not less than £5, at the rate of £3 17s. 6d. per ounce; and the branch banks will receive it at the same rate, deducting the cost of transmission to London.

LIEUTENANT MUNRO.—We stated on Wednesday that it was generally believed to be Lieutenant Munro's intention to leave the royal horse guards (blue), and remain abroad. We have little hesitation in adding to this, that he intends to enter the Prussian service.—*Post*.

Mr John Hullah has been appointed professor of vocal music in King's college, London.

Mr H. S. Chapman has been appointed to the judgeship of Wellington, New Zealand.

Sir Peregrine Maitland has been appointed to succeed Sir George Napier as governor of the Cape.

The Duke of Bordeaux left Belgrave square on Monday the 11th inst, for Badminton, on a visit to the Duke of Beaufort; and returned on Wednesday. As the arrivals from France continued to be numerous, there have been more "levées." The Duke left town on Friday for a tour in Wales, and was to return on the 23rd.

The *Cambridge Advertiser* reports Earl Fitzwilliam to be labouring under severe indisposition.

The *Manchester Guardian* informs us that Sir Henry Pottinger has solicited and obtained his recall from China, in consequence of a painful disease of long standing.

MR THOMPSON'S FIRE ESCAPE.—This is a very simple and very ingenious invention for preserving persons from being burnt in houses that are on fire. The contrivance by which they are to be saved from the flames is this:—A rope, the two ends of which are held in the street by policemen, or other persons present, is elevated by means of a pole, consisting of pieces fastened together after the manner of a fishing rod, to the window of the house from which the inmates are to be rescued; the rope is then to be secured in the room by passing it round a hook or heavy piece of furniture, and the two ends in the street being pulled apart so as to form an angle, a belt, which is secured upon them by strong iron rivets, is forced up to the window, by means of two small iron wheels or sheaves, almost instantaneously. The apparatus will carry a man secured by the belt, up to a window at the very top of the house, and will, by means of the ends of the ropes being kept tight and asunder at such a distance as the occasion requires, enable any one to descend by means of the belt, without any danger from too great rapidity. The machine was tried on Friday, in Sydney's alley, in Adam street, Adelphi, and in Wellington street, Strand, when repeated ascents to and descents from windows were made with complete success. The

invention is so simple and so manageable that any person can avail himself or herself of it.

EXTENSION OF TIME FOR RECEIVING LETTERS.—The following notice appears in "Kelly's Post-office Directory for 1844;" and we learn that the alteration commences with New Year's day:—"Letters to pass by the inland mails can be posted at the receiving-houses till 5h. 30m., p.m. (being one half hour later than at present); by the letter-carriers ringing bells (on payment of one penny with each) from 4h. 30m. to 5h. 30m., p.m.; at the branch post-offices at Charing cross, Old Cavendish street, and 108, Blackman street, Borough, till 6, p.m., and with a fee of one penny (which must be paid by a stamp affixed to the letter), until 6h. 45m., p.m.; at the branch post-office in Lombard street till 6, p.m., and till 7, p.m., with a fee paid by means of a penny stamp affixed to the letter; at the General Post-office, St Martin's-le-Grand, until 6, p.m., and until 7, p.m., upon payment of a fee of one penny (or an affixed stamp), in addition to the postage, which must then be paid in advance, and from 7 till half-past 7, upon payment of a fee of sixpence each."

The unprecedented number of sixty-eight writs of *certiorari* were issued on Wednesday from the Crown office. These writs are all from Wales, in cases arising out of the late disturbances, and they are issued by the Crown on the presumption that, in the present excited state of local feeling and strong prejudice, impartial trials are not to be had in the principality. We understand that, before serving the writs of *certiorari*, a few cases will be tried in Wales, in order to test the impartiality of the juries, and, if these cases prove satisfactory, the writs of *certiorari* will not be carried out.—*Standard*.

PURITY OF ELECTION.—A communication has been made to us personally, this week, by a gentleman who is disinclined to contribute to the general fund of the Anti-corn-law League, but who is anxious to promote one of the objects of the League, namely, "Purity of Election." Our friend has authorised us to say, that if, in addition to the £100,000 fund, the League will open a distinct subscription for preventing, detecting, and punishing bribery at parliamentary elections, he will head the fund for that specific purpose by a fifty-pound subscription, and that he has no doubt but the example would be extensively followed.—*Leeds Mercury*.

ELECTION MOVEMENTS.—We have the very high gratification to state, that our esteemed member, Mr Ward, whose continuance in parliament has for some time past been doubtful, has come to the conclusion to retain his seat.—*Sheffield Independent*.—The *Dover Chronicle* says that Sir John R. Reid, M.P. for that borough, will resign his seat on the opening of parliament. The reason is curious: it is said that the hon. baronet has determined to give up the seat rather than become a daily beggar at the doors of the treasury for places for his greedy and needy Tory Dover supporters.—A Newcastle paper says that in case of Lord Howick's succession to the peerage, by the death of the venerable Earl Grey, Colonel Thompson will be proposed by the liberal party for the vacant seat for the borough of Sunderland.

TAXES ON THE WORKING MAN.—The following table, showing the amount of taxes paid weekly by a working man who expends 7s. 7d., is extracted from the *Complete Suffrage Almanack*, for 1844:—Two ounces of tea, two ounces of coffee, eight ounces of sugar, three pounds eight ounces of meat, seven pounds of flour, seven pints of ale, quarter of a pint of brandy, and one ounce of tobacco. The cost of the above, if freed from tithe, corn, custom, and excise tax, would not exceed 2s. 4d.; while at present the cost is 7s. 7d., being a weekly tax of five shillings and threepence on the poor consumer.

THE WASHINGTON TREATY.—The crisis of the tenth article has arrived, and we shall now see whether the treaty of Washington will be made an instrument for the surrender of slaves. Seven slaves have made their escape from Florida, and have arrived in safety at Nassau. They are charged, however, not with the pet crime of stealing a watch, but with the graver offence of murder, and so claimed under the extradition clause.—*Anti-slavery Reporter*.

SUBSTITUTE FOR SLAVERY.—Mauritius at length is satisfied! Twenty thousand Coolies from India, imported under Lord Stanley's measure, have caused such a glut of labour that the governor is about to withdraw the bounty on further importation at the end of the year! And now the hungry colonies of the West are clamouring to be, like favoured Mauritius, fed with flesh to the full! To us there is a deep melancholy in this madness. What a grave must this pampered island of Mauritius have been to the crowds of human beings who, at different times, have been transported to its soil! What an inconceivable amount of immorality and vice must result from the addition to its small population of twenty thousand persons, almost exclusively men!—*Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

PLAGIARISTS.—Purloiners, who filch the fruit that others have gathered, and then throw away the basket.

SPECULATION.—A word that sometimes begins with its second letter.

A naval surgeon, who used to prescribe salt water for his patients in all disorders, happened to be drowned one evening. Next day the captain coming on board, inquired for the doctor, and was coolly told by a sailor that "he was drowned last night in the medicine-chest."

Postscript.

Wednesday, Dec. 20th.

PORTUGAL.—Our Lisbon letter of the 12th represents the Costa Cabral ministry as sorely pressed by

financial difficulties, which have forced it to the unpopular measure of imposing fresh taxes on the first necessities of life—such as wine, salt, fresh meat, iron, and flax. In addition to this, the government, not over successful in its struggle with the press, has formidable opponents in the municipal bodies, which carry on opposition by means of most bold and almost seditious addresses, supplying the wonted virulence of the journals. The municipalities are dissolved, re-elected, and prosecutions instituted against their members.—*Chronicle*.

SPAIN.—Nothing of interest has occurred in the Spanish Cortes, with the exception of a long speech by General Serrano against the moderados. Both parties seem more anxious to tire each other down in the Cortes by long speeches, than anxious for a conclusion. The fact is, the conclusion is no longer looked to from the Cortes, but from a struggle between the moderados and public opinion upon some other field. Narvaez is strengthening his military position, and De Meer, the most violent and arbitrary of the moderado chiefs, returns to Catalonia, where he once commanded for Christina. It is a singular fact, that although we are told by the French papers that the cabinet council resolved on the 9th to recall Queen Christina, the fact was hardly known in Madrid on the 12th. The dismissal of the progresistas continues with great assiduity and effect. The slightest suspicion of liberality is fatal. The new appointments are all ultra moderados, military men or journalists.

ACCELERATION OF THE INDIAN MAILS.—A public meeting was held at the Hall of Commerce, yesterday, to receive the report of the committee that was appointed by a public meeting on the 19th of September last, to promote the acceleration of communication between Great Britain and India. John Abel Smith, Esq., took the chair. The meeting was addressed by the Chairman, Dr Bowring, Sir George Larpent, and other gentlemen.

MARRIAGE OF THE SPANISH QUEEN.—Our Paris letter contains, respecting Spanish affairs, the following passage:—"A report being current that the object of the French diplomatic mission to Madrid was to advance the marriage of Queen Isabella with the son of Don Carlos, and not with a Neapolitan prince, persons in the confidence of M. Guizot assert to-day that the reverse of that rumour is the fact, and that the marriage of Queen Isabella with the Prince Trappani is determined on."—*Times*.

REPEAL ASSOCIATION.—The usual meeting took place on Monday. The only feature of interest was a letter from Mr O'Connell, in which he suggested that the association should vote £25 to Larkin, the servant, who made so stout a defence of his master's family at Finnoe; attacked the members of the land-ford and tenant commission, individually; but suggested that a committee should be appointed for preparing evidence to submit to them. The letter concludes:—

"In short, let our committee exert every possible means of putting in evidence all the clearances within the last thirty years, and make out the case of the tenantry of Ireland in all its afflicting details. If there shall be any failure, let not the fault be ours."

"I have received the papers containing Mr Sturge's reply to our statement. It is, in fact, already answered by the member for Kilkenny, and by Mr O'Neill Daunt. But I shall, at the instance of the association, put the answer in a more methodical form. However, the truth is, that so far from the Crawford-Sturge suggestion being an argument against the repeal, it enables me to demonstrate the impossibility of Ireland's prospering without a resident parliament. Believe me to be, very faithfully, yours,

"DANIEL O'CONNELL."

"T. M. Ray, sec., &c., &c., &c." The suggestions of Mr O'Connell were then embodied in resolutions, and carried. The rent for the week is expected to be over £500.

DEATH OF LORD LYNEDOC.—The venerable Lord Lynedoch is numbered with the illustrious dead. His lordship expired on Monday night, a few minutes before eleven o'clock, at his house (town residence), 12, Stratton street, after several days of severe suffering. The now deceased nobleman was descended from a common ancestor with the Dukes of Montrose. He was the son of Thomas Graham, Esq., by Christian, fourth daughter of the first Earl of Hopetoun; was born in 1760, and had consequently reach his 94th year when he died. The deceased nobleman obtained great distinction in the Peninsular wars, under the Duke of Wellington; and in politics was a whig.—*Morning Chronicle*.

Earl Grey is said to be better, but is still in a very debilitated state.

THE CASE OF MESMERISM.—Yesterday afternoon the boy James Cooke, whose case we have elsewhere noticed, was subjected to the action of mesmeric influence by Mr Taylor, lecturer upon the principles and practice of Mesmer, at the Lecture hall, Greenwich. Mr Taylor made the usual passes; but little sign of comatose influence was manifested. At length, however, he fell into a slight mesmeric sleep; the pupils of the eyes dilated, the lids fell, and the head sank upon the breast. There were no other symptoms, and the influence was obviously very partial. In less than ten minutes the lad had completely recovered, and before five o'clock he appeared as well as possible. We called upon him shortly before eleven o'clock, and found him still well.—*Morning Chronicle*.

CORN MARKET. MARK LANE. THIS DAY.

The supply of English wheat is 2,810 quarters; there is no foreign wheat in the market. Prices are the same as on Monday, and not much is doing.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"Veritas." Somewhat too local for our columns.
 "Anti-Reserve." If we have room next week.
 "J. J. H." He will perceive by our next week's number that his plan is unnecessary. If he will be kind enough to forward us his name and address, we have a letter at our office for him, which we will forthwith transmit by post. We regret that in our last number the advertisement of "Mystic Babylon" stated the price of it to be 4s. 6d. instead of 1s. 6d.
 "A Congregational Dissenter." We are unable to gratify him this week, but we may take the first recurring opportunity of doing so.
 Received of "W. B. Jacob" 10s. as a subscription towards defraying the expenses of the proposed Anti-state-church Convention.
 "A Dissenter." Etymology, as well as the *norma loquendi* of the country, would place the accent on the first syllable.
 "J. H." declined.
 "W. Williams." We never copy reviews.
 "Ingenuus." We have no room.
 The communication from Aberdeen received too late for notice.

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The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, DEC. 20, 1843.

SUMMARY.

THE week's news furnish us with few topics requiring at our hands even a passing comment. Her Majesty being at home, our nobles and senators being chiefly occupied with field sports, save where, here and there, they gather to look upon fat cattle and toil-worn husbandmen—the opening of parliament being now definitely fixed, not for the earlier part of January, as had been anticipated, but for the first of February, the customary time—trade being dull, as usual at this period of the year, and the weather generally thick and uncomfortable—it is not surprising that few incidents of note should have occurred to claim from us cursory remark. If somewhat of dullness, therefore, pervade our summary, we must shift the blame from ourselves to the times. We have said all we wished to say of the educational conference of Independent dissenters in an article specially devoted to that subject. We have glanced also in other columns at what is doing in this metropolis to relieve the destitution of the poor, by means expressly devised to increase the influence of the clergy, and at what has been done at Birmingham to reach the same end by pursuing a precisely opposite course. We are not, consequently, in a position to say much nor, in fact, does our duty require that we should.

First, then, for the complete suffrage agitation, which, during the past week, has been a signal exception to the general quietude. The letter of John A. O'Neill, Esq., of Bunowen castle, Ireland, to the president of the National Complete Suffrage Union, will be read with pleasure by every enlightened and sincere friend to the doctrine of equal political rights. As a spontaneous expression of attachment to the cause, and as coming from a man possessed of no small influence in his own country, it notes the onward progress of this movement, and gives an earnest that the time is not far distant when we may expect the accession to our ranks of that large and influential class of radical reformers of which Mr O'Neill is so distinguished a member. Our reports will show that the council of the Union have cut out for themselves a goodly share of work during the coming month; and that activity, wherever it has been put forth by the advocates of complete suffrage principles, is invariably followed by the most exhilarating success.

The League, too, has been busy during the past week. Leeds, Halifax, Wigan, and other towns of less note, have held their meetings, and have subscribed their quota towards the "monster fund" required for this agitation. Already 40,000l. have been contributed, and but few places have hitherto been visited by deputation. At Leeds the public meeting was of the most spirited character—an event not usual in the history of that quiescent borough. The knell of monopoly is tolling. Its life may be protracted through a session or two more, and doubtless it will struggle hard for continued existence. But its doom is sealed—its days are numbered—and under whatever aspect it meets its first defeat, it may rest assured that nothing but its complete extinction will satisfy the stern demand of the people, upon whom it has long trampled with impunity.

And yet so blind and infatuated, it would seem, are the ruling class, that they would propose to add new burdens to the people in order to fee the

Irish priesthood. This step the *Times* declares, with marked emphasis, to be ESSENTIAL to the safety of the sister kingdom. In other quarters, too, rumours are rife that, spite of all appearances to the contrary, Sir Robert Peel will propose this measure at the opening of the next session. We wish he may—we earnestly wish he may; and if the people of this country—let alone Ireland—do not at length teach the Premier and his colleagues, together with the whole body of the aristocracy, a lesson which will make their ears tingle and their courage quail, then we shall be much mistaken. The proposal will be as great a blunder as a crime. The wretched people who, according to recent accounts, met their fate in Cloudy Bay, at the hands of incensed and ill-treated New Zealanders, did not miscalculate more fatally than would Sir Robert Peel in pressing forward the state payment of the Irish priesthood. The established church of this country might well caution him to beware how he moots a question of such perilous tendency. It may turn out much to his and to their astonishment, that the demand, in place of being acceded to, may provoke retaliation, and that, instead of consenting to a double state church, the people may be determined to rid themselves of the one they have already got.

Spain still wastes her strength in a fever of party violence. The discussions on the Olozaga affair proceed. A resolution to impeach him has passed the Cortes, several Progresista members having given their votes for it, as affording the only chance of turning up the truth, and of exposing the intrigues of the Palace *Camarilla*. Gonzales Bravo, the new Premier, is a man not disposed to stand upon trifles; his previous career has been one of infamy, and he is evidently bent on keeping up his character. He is displacing from office every political chief suspected of entertaining liberal opinions; he is in close conjunction with Narvaez, the military adventurer and despot, whom French gold hired to upset Espartero; he is associated with M. Carasco, the Minister of Finance, notorious for the part he took in the Salamanca contract; and, out-bravering Bravo, he has invited Queen Christina to leave France for Madrid, nominally, as guardian to her second daughter, but really, as governess to Isabella II, in all state affairs. It is rumoured in Paris that her acceptance of this invitation must be delayed for a short season. "The reason," says the *Chronicle*, "is not exactly stated. It is said to be of a domestic and temporary character, and to make a journey, in her present state, would be very inconvenient to her Majesty." If this innuendo is supported by fact, the affairs of Spain and of Spanish rulers must be regarded as having got into a pretty considerable mess.

EDUCATION—THE CONGREGATIONAL CONFERENCE.

THE Congregational Conference on Education, to which we adverted last week in our summary, held its sittings on Wednesday and Thursday. The report, which appears in the *Patriot* of Monday, furnished, we presume, by the committee of the Congregational union, is a meagre and piece-meal affair, giving at full length speeches which contain nothing remarkable in them save perpetual allusions to other speeches which have been suppressed. By whose authority this account of proceedings, which we understand to have been characterised by unwonted animation, is thus chiseled down to tameness and conventional propriety, is no business of ours. We much question, however, the prudence, not to say the honesty, of such interference with the functions of the press. The conference was a representative assembly, professing to reflect the opinions of the Independent body of dissenters. It was, moreover, a deliberative assembly, met to discuss, to exchange sentiments, to compare notes, and ultimately to resolve upon action. Its constituents may justly complain of supercilious treatment, in being deprived of such an impartial report of what took place as might unveil to their inspection the process by which certain results have been arrived at—the arguments on both sides—the collision of mind with mind—the objections put and refuted—the inquiries submitted and answered. When, therefore, they are presented with an account carefully planed down to a polished evenness—an account which leaves out the most decided speeches on one side, and gives the most plausible on the other—they may be prompted to suspect what is not the case, that this momentous question of education is destined also to be clique-ridden, and that the ultimate management and expenditure of large sums of money, which zeal is cheerfully devoting to a special and important end, are to be confided to two or three individuals constituting the triumvirate of the congregational body.

We believe, however, that the conference was anything but what this velvet report would represent. We rejoice that it manfully repudiated government interference, and, as its necessary antecedent, government assistance. We could have wished, indeed, to have perused the bold speeches of Mr Hamilton, of Leeds, and others, on this question, producing, as we hear they did, so power-

ful and beneficial an impression upon undecided minds. We cannot but recall the trembling of spirit which we felt when Sir James Graham made his first speech on the subject of national education, aware, as we could not but be, that state interposition for the instruction of the labouring classes, was at that time maintained as sound doctrine by a majority, an overwhelming majority, of nonconformists. We watched the course of the agitation with anxiety and hope, catching glimpses more and more frequent as it rolled onward, of the success with which it was laying bare to public view the essential hollowness of maxims received, until then, as self-evident and indubitable. And now, within twelve months, we are favoured to witness one entire section of the nonconforming body renouncing the specious error, and boldly casting themselves upon the voluntary principle. How signal the change! How exhilarating to all who are toiling up "the hill of difficulty" in pursuit of truth! And how rapid the process of transformation! Well have the delegates commenced the work assigned to them. Upwards of seventeen thousand pounds raised in a few hours is a glorious pledge for the future, and gives security to the country that, in the work of educating the rising generation, the congregational dissenters will be up with the foremost.

The policy of making separate denominational efforts for the promotion of education is a question not so easy of decision as may, at first sight, be imagined. Our own taste, and this is, doubtless, the case with numbers, would lead us to prefer a union, for this purpose, of all nonconforming sects. Perhaps, however, when the matter comes to be sifted to the bottom, it will appear that a comprehensive scheme of the kind contemplated, commends itself more strongly to the imagination than to the judgment. Experience does not testify very satisfactorily to the easy working of united effort. In the business of education, moreover, we are not convinced that men do well lightly to forego the inculcation of their distinctive opinions. If these opinions are of the slightest value, it seems not inappropriate to diffuse them as widely as possible. No advantage is gained to society by bringing up the young in a uniform system of belief. There is no little cant abroad on this head. One would be tempted to suppose, taking his stand upon now prevailing maxims, that difference of opinion, in this world of ours, is the one evil to be guarded against, and that to merge all peculiarities of creed is the one virtue to be cherished. Now, we utterly dissent from this. It is essentially slavish. It divests men of half their responsibilities. It sets a higher value upon union, based on silence or reserve, than upon mental freedom. That sectarianism, which has sympathies only for its own denomination, we abhor and despise—but if a strong attachment to our own tenets, and earnest efforts to spread the knowledge of them, come under the designation, we avow ourselves sectarian. Dissenters have too long acted in a spirit of spurious and mistaken charity. Their own peculiar principles they have consented to place in abeyance, glorying in their promptitude to establish union. What is the consequence? Why, that they have almost let slip those principles from their own knowledge—and when they ought to be teachers they have need to be taught.

One of the main advantages of united effort would be the prevention of a needless multiplication of means in small towns and thinly-populated districts. It will be seen, at a glance, that if, in every petty locality, each sect is to have its separate educational apparatus, the machinery will be too burdensome for the moving power, and a number of inefficient schools will occupy the place of one good one. Against this awkward contingency the conference has guarded its proceedings, as may be seen from the following resolution:—

"This meeting approves of denominational efforts for obtaining resources for general education, but would advise the congregational churches to use the resources so obtained, in co-operation with the efforts of Christians of other communions in this work, whenever they may not be able to establish schools in connexion with their own congregations. Therefore the meeting earnestly recommends that, both in the central and the local efforts of the congregational body to promote general education, there should be manifested a cordial readiness to co-operate with Christians of other communions for this great object, wherever such co-operation is seen to be necessary, or most advantageous for advancing the common cause."

From this resolution it will be seen that, although the raising of resources for education is to be strictly denominational, and the subsequent application of them may be so, and probably will be so in many instances, it is not made imperative in any case, and is discouraged wherever it would palpably interfere with the efficiency of the schools to be called into existence. On the whole, we look upon the arrangement as both wise and liberal.

Some objections to the plan adopted by the congregational conference are not without weight, and evident care has been taken to lessen their force. On the other hand, however, it offers peculiar facilities. The efficiency of the school instruction given will very mainly depend upon active and unremitting superintendence; and this, it

is needless to observe, may always be more securely depended upon in connexion with congregational than with general effort. Whether it ought to be so is not the question; undeniably, it is so. "The little system of means" (to quote from ourselves about a twelvemonth back)—"the little system of means which local benevolence has succeeded in building up, appeals for cheerful support to all those proprietary feelings of our hearts which prompt us to contemplate with fond affection whatever we can legitimately regard as our own. It is not that we expect to derive from it any selfish advantage. Its maintenance may ask at our hands for larger sacrifices than it would were we to devolve the responsibility upon others. It may demand constant tending, incessant care, much self-denial; but then it attracts towards itself our warmest sympathies. We come at last to identify it with our own fears, hopes, and sense of responsibility. It is part and parcel of our own concerns. Its success is, in its measure, ours; its failure also. It is the embodiment, if we may so speak, of a part of our very selves; the outward efflorescence of an inward idea and feeling which we call ours. And it is to be noted that, like an ailing child, it awakens a tenderer interest, and elicits a more affectionate care, just in proportion as it requires more constant and habitual self-denial. We cannot endure that it should sink, for its loss would be a loss to us of a pleasing, grateful anxiety."

In conclusion, we hail with acclamation this generous and philanthropic effort to diffuse more widely the blessings of education. Let the abettors of the state church parade, if they will, their subscription list, graced with the names of royalty, bishops, and nobles. The nonconformists of these realms, much as they have quietly exerted themselves, in days past, in this great cause, will not lag behind in any race of benevolence. They can obtain for themselves no Queen's letter, it is true; and yet, when their several lists shall at length be made up, it will appear that, despised as they have been, they can compete in this matter with the party which vaunts its exclusive possession of wealth, rank, and power. The conference whose proceedings have suggested these remarks has given a mighty impetus to the cause it took in hand; and in the face of its success we ask, what valid reason can be given for declining a resort to similar means, in furtherance of an object yet more extensively important the rescue of Christian institutions from the contaminating hands of civil authority?

THE LEVER FOR THE OVERTHROW OF OLIGARCHICAL DOMINATION.

THE plan of the honourable member for Rochdale for controlling the movements of a corrupt parliamentary majority attracts an unusual share of public attention. It is at once constitutional, practical, bold, and decisive. It will be, if fairly put into operation, as a hook in the nose of Leviathan. It is a lever which popular power must work by the hands of a few determined popular members. It will require, on the part of those members, great moral courage, untiring perseverance, readiness to forfeit all the privileges of caste, and cheerful submission to be esteemed by the whole ruling party, as factious contemners of ancient precedents and long-standing customs. It would be folly to look for any considerable number of the present house to give effect to Mr. Crawford's plan in all the extent of its capabilities. However true it may be that that plan offers an opportunity for the cordial union, without compromise, of all parties justly dissatisfied with the present state of things, and however palpable to common sense, that if the corn-law repealers, the Irish members who support Mr. O'Connell, and the decided friends of civil and religious liberty, would agree to avail themselves of this weapon, success would infallibly crown their exertions, we fear that so novel and determined an aggression upon the strongholds of usurped power will find but few supporters on its first trial.

Those few will necessarily require the full amount of public support, which unceasing peaceful agitation can raise on their behalf. The hand which grasps this lever will prove of small avail until the national will nerves every muscle of which it is composed. We rejoice, therefore, to see the pre-requisite work prosecuted with vigour. Our columns of this day contain reports of enthusiastic meetings held during the past week at Birmingham, Wolverhampton, and Walsall. If our remarks should be chiefly limited to the first, there are obvious reasons to justify us, which most of our readers will readily appreciate. The meeting at Birmingham was remarkable on many accounts, and, assuredly, not more remarkable than cheering. It was held in the spacious Town hall of that borough—a building which official jealousy had recently closed against the Complete Suffrage Union. It was summoned by the chief magistrate, upon a requisition, numerously and respectfully signed, and was presided over by that worthy functionary himself. It was composed of all classes of reformers—its numbers are calculated at 6,000—perfect harmony characterised its proceedings, and a spirit of enthusiasm pervaded the whole assembly. The

working classes, who had usually connected themselves with the chartist agitation, not merely refrained from causing the smallest interruption, but cordially and openly concurred in the resolutions agreed upon. The meeting at Birmingham constitutes a model, which we are confident will have many successful imitators. It stamps the agitation with a character of the right sort. It breathes into it a tone of moral determination. Its voice, calmly but firmly uplifted against hitherto unblushing tyranny, will be heard with respect by surrounding and distant municipalities. We congratulate Birmingham on the high position which its sons have assumed in the present national crisis—and, pointing the attention of other boroughs to its proceedings, we are constrained to exhort them "go and do likewise."

Nor until this be done—done pretty generally throughout the empire—done after the same fashion—can the people consistently complain of the burdens which weigh them down, and crush the vital energies of this once prosperous kingdom. If they upon whom devolves the duty of paying taxes for the support of aristocratic plans of domination, shrink from a close contest with their foe, how, with the smallest show of reason, can they blame the few who impose taxation, for pursuing an easy and customary course? If the people themselves view with comparative listlessness and unconcern, the maintenance of 50,000 armed men within their own borders, for no other purpose than to check their aspirations after liberty, and of a still larger number for perpetrating cruelty, conquest, and permanent wrong upon unoffending nations at a far distance—if they see no evil accruing from supporting, at their own expense, the extravagance of a class who live upon the public, and who, under various specious pretexts, draw their ample resources from the pockets of the industrious—if they are content to melt down all the solid advantages of commerce, in order to trick out with gold and precious stones the pride of patrician monopolists, or to glut the avarice of ecclesiastical pretenders—if, in a word, they who suffer insult, degradation, and spoliation, from a legislature which represents nothing better than a million and a half of money spent in bribery and corruption, prefer to remain quiescent, and hesitate to express their peaceful determination to use the power which they possess to bring the present system of class government to an end—what right will they have hereafter to hurl their indignation against the members of that House, whose proceedings themselves might have controlled, and whose injustice themselves might have prevented, but would not?

We call, therefore, upon such as have grievances to redress—upon all who conceive themselves to suffer wrong at the hands of the legislature—upon all who seek reform, whether civil, commercial, or religious, to rise up as one man and assert the privileges of their birthright. We tell them that the power is in their hands, if they are disposed to put it forth. We bid them quit themselves like men, whose deeds lag not behind their words. Let them look to Birmingham, and, having paid to it the passing homage of their respect, let them resolve that Birmingham shall be far enough from standing alone in this great enterprise.

EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE.

The important deliberations of the representatives of the congregational churches of England, with reference to general education, were commenced on Wednesday last, at the Congregational library, Blomfield street. This spacious room was crowded by ministers and many distinguished laymen connected with this section of the church of Christ. Besides the leading London ministers, there were present Dr Raffles, J. A. James, Professor Vaughan, James Parsons, Professor Stowell, John Ely, John Kelly, Thomas Scales, Charles Hindley, Esq., Joshua Wilson, Esq., Samuel Fletcher, Esq., John Remington Mills, Esq., John and Samuel Morley, Esq., James Kershaw, Esq., Robert Milligan, Esq., George Hadfield, Esq., and many other ministers and gentlemen of influence connected with the congregational body. It had been previously arranged by a provisional committee that there should be two sittings daily. The first to commence at half-past nine o'clock, and close at half-past two; and the second to commence at half-past five o'clock, and terminate at half-past eight.

Morning Sitting.

The business was commenced by a motion that Charles Hindley, Esq., be called to the chair. A hymn having been sung, a prayer was offered by Mr Chaplin. The meeting was then addressed by the CHAIRMAN, in a sensible and appropriate speech, containing but little which calls for lengthened quotation. He adverted to the circumstances which had led to the summons of the present conference, and expressed his intention of bearing his proportion of the necessary expenditure for carrying on the work of education, and trusted that at the least £100,000 would be raised.

Mr ALGERNON WELLS, congregational minister, in rising to explain the nature of the meeting as understood by the committee, said—

With regard to the character of the resolutions which are contained in the paper I hold in my hand, they have been anxiously framed and adjusted to meet known differences of opinion that exist amongst us, and

differences in the circumstances of localities in which our operations are to be carried on. The utmost care has been taken in the construction to combine things which, at first sight, might not seem harmonious; in the first place, to put together central with local action, so that all local schools shall be conducted by their own committees, and the character of the school be such as those local committees and supporters shall determine, while, at the same time, the central committee shall be employed in gathering contributions from localities where a surplus might be obtained, and communicating them to districts where there is a necessity for assistance. But while the central committee is employed in giving that assistance, it shall not control the locality, but only obtain satisfactory proof that the schools they are assisting are such as they ought to be. It is also intended to assist young persons in obtaining education in normal schools, with a view to becoming teachers; and that the committee shall have the power of ascertaining that they are proper individuals for holding that office. We do not want an excess of central influence, an excess of central action; only so much as shall be obviously advantageous, and shall comport with the liberty of our brethren in every separate locality [cheers]. We have been very jealous on the part of the British and Foreign School society and our denominational schools. We know that all our brethren are not of one mind on this point. In many places where schools are established in connexion with places of worship, there will be a desire to give daily schools a more religious character, and to put them more under pastoral inspection, than could possibly be done if they stood in avowed connexion with the British and Foreign School society. We wish to leave our brethren to act on that point as their judgment shall dictate. There are other localities in the country where it would hardly be possible to connect schools with our congregations. In small towns with two or three thousand inhabitants, in rural districts, where neither the number of children needing education, nor of individuals prepared to sustain schools, will admit of more than one school being formed there, we seem to be shut up to the necessity of acting on the system of the British and Foreign School society. Still, however, we desire entire liberty in each separate locality. We also know that there is not perfect unanimity of opinion amongst us on the question of receiving government aid. Here, again, the resolutions have been adjusted so as to leave all parties at perfect liberty. There is no sentiment avowed, no pledges given, and no necessity involved that any money given, or any action taken on the part of individuals or localities, should lead to what is contrary to the judgment and feelings of our brethren. Our desire has been to harmonise. Our great solicitude is, that the denomination should act together as one body, but we see that it is indispensable that we should bear with one another in our different modes of action in different localities. Thus far the resolutions are not put before the meeting as coming with the slightest authority, and you will not be called to vote a general approval of them. They will be before you only as severally moved and seconded by individuals in the meeting, and will form a part of your proceedings only as they come before you on regular motion. We are desirous that the money question should come up and be carried this morning; afterwards, on those things, respecting which we know there is a difference of opinion, and to the consideration of which we hope to sit down with patience and candour, and with great mutual confidence, we hope so to adjust the resolutions that they will speak our united sentiments.

Dr RAFFLES, of Liverpool, in a speech advocating the claims of the people to be educated, moved the first resolution:—

"1. That it appears to the present meeting, that in addition to the unchanging reasons in favour of education, which prove sound intelligence to be essential to man's social, moral, and religious welfare, there are considerations special to the present state of this country, demanding immediate efforts for the better instruction of the people."

He hoped the money matter would be done after the Manchester fashion.

SAMUEL FLETCHER, Esq., of Manchester, seconded the resolution, in a practical speech. He referred to the exertions of the National society as a stimulus to dissenters:—

They have said that £200,000 must be raised; but I believe they will double that amount. A meeting has been held by the church party in Manchester, and large sums have been given. It should also be remembered, that during the last seven years the church has been most active in forming schools for the poor. In Manchester almost every church has had a noble school attached to it; and I must testify that I do not know any schools that are more efficient, or better conducted than these. I am glad of this, and for this reason—the schools are connected with individual churches; they have called forth the energies of male and female, who take a deep interest in them, and visit the families, get acquainted with the wants of the people, and interest the affections of the children. They bring them together once a quarter to tea-drinking; and every mother delights to see her children repeating their hymns, and thus their affections are drawn forth. Let our congregations endeavour to make an effort; let every member of the church, whether male or female, visit the schools, and every lane and garret in the district, to see what number of children require instruction, and, if possible, obviate the indisposition of parents to send their children to school. I know that the indisposition of the parents to do that will be one of the main difficulties with which we shall have to contend. The fact is, parents generally do not value education; they do not think it necessary to send their children regularly to school, and indeed imagine that they confer an obligation by so doing, though the charge be but 2d. a week.

Mr J. A. JAMES, independent minister of Birmingham, proposed the following resolution:—

"2. That the present meeting is fully alive to all the advantages of acting in union with Christians of other communions for the advancement of great objects of religious benevolence, not necessarily involving differences of faith and practice; yet deems the most vigorous efforts for general education the imperative duty of the congregational churches."

He mentioned what was being done in Birmingham.

"There are many congregations which have already established day-schools, which are at the present time managed under their direction; and they are not prepared to give up these in order to merge

themselves into a general union [hear, hear]. There are others which are preparing to act. My own congregation, for instance, is about to expend not less than £2,000 in the erection of schools, and in various things connected with them [loud cheers]. We are doing this as a congregation, and it is not to be supposed that we shall forego the advantages which we think our acting thus will give us, to merge ourselves in a general union."

D. W. WIRE, Esq., seconded the resolution, and was followed by Mr DUNN, who advocated the claims of the British and Foreign School society. Mr Alderman KERSHAW proposed, and GEORGE HADFIELD, Esq., seconded, the following resolution:—

"3. That a subscription be now opened for this great work—every donor, now or hereafter, as he may deem most advisable, to determine the appropriation of his donation to the central fund, to local efforts, to the British and Foreign School society, or to such other institution for the training of teachers as he may approve."

The subscriptions then commenced with great spirit, and we take from the *Leeds Mercury* the result of the day's work:—

The noble spirit of liberality and sacrifice which prevailed in the meeting, will be best judged of when we state, that at the conference the very large amount of £17,796 was subscribed. Charles Hindley, Esq., M.P., the large-hearted and public-spirited chairman, led the subscription with the munificent subscription of £1,000, and he was followed by others not less munificent. We add the principal subscriptions:—

SUBSCRIBERS OF £1,000 EACH.

Charles Hindley, Esq., M.P. Dukinfield.
Samuel Fletcher, Esq., Manchester.
James Kershaw, Esq., Manchester.
Robert Milligan, Esq., Bradford.
Joshua Wilson, Esq., London.
Messrs Barnes and Son, Halshaw moor, Lancashire.
Messrs Wells and Perry, Chelmsford.

SUBSCRIBERS OF £500 EACH.

George Hadfield, Esq., Manchester.
James Carlton, Esq., Manchester.
John Morley, Esq., London.
Wm Ackroyd, Esq., Otley.

SUBSCRIBERS OF £250 EACH.

Messrs Spicer and Sons, London.
S. Morley, Esq., London.
J. Field, Esq., London.
Wm Shaw, Esq., Wakefield.
Jos. Eccles, Esq., Blackburn.
J. Russell, Esq., Bradford.
Thomas Blackburn, Esq., Liverpool.
Messrs S. Blackburn and Co., Liverpool.
John Morley, jun., Esq., London.
Wm Flanders, Esq., London.
John Barker, Esq., Wolverhampton.
John Remington Mills, Esq., London.

SUBSCRIBERS OF £200 EACH.

Edward Edwards, Esq., London.
Henry Rutt, Esq., London.

SUBSCRIBERS OF £150 EACH.

Jos. Taylor, Esq., Leeds.
Rev. John Angell James, Birmingham.

SUBSCRIBERS OF £125 EACH.

D. W. Wire, Esq., London.
G. Knox, Esq., London.
Thomas M. Coombs, Esq., London.
— Levers, Esq., London.
Wm Smith, Esq.
P. Willans, Esq., Leeds.
Messrs E. Baines and Sons, Leeds.
Charles Robertson, Esq., Liverpool.
— Lund, Esq., London.
B. Hanbury, Esq., London.
Messrs G. Osburn and Son, Bradford and Newport.
J. Smith, Esq., Wapping, London.
Rev. Dr Burder, London.
Wm Alexander, Esq., London.
T. Piper, Esq., London.
John Press Bevan, Esq., Wigan.
Rev. Henry Townley, London.

SUBSCRIBERS OF £100 EACH.

John Whitehouse, Esq., Dudley.
Messrs E. Swaine and W. Isaac, London.
George Leeman, Esq., York.
Isaac Oliver Jones, Esq., Liverpool.
Rev. John Clayton, London.
Benjamin Cooke, Esq., London.
Rev. Dr Reed, London.
Rev. Thos Adkins, Southampton.
John Rawson, Esq., Bradford.
John William Smith, Esq., Sheffield.
Wm Lucas, Esq., Tooting.
Rev. Dr Bennett, London.
Rev. Thos Russell, Enfield.
Rev. James Edwards, Brighton.

SUBSCRIBERS OF £50 EACH.

Rev. Dr Jenkyn, Coward college, London.
Rev. Jas S. Hastie, Otley (by W. Ackroyd, Esq.).
Rev. R. Winter Hamilton, Leeds.
Rev. J. Robinson, London.
George Stapleton, Esq.
Rev. Dr Leifchild, London.
Rev. Algernon Wells, London.
Rev. A. Tidman, London.
Rev. Joseph John Freeman, London.
Rev. John Yockney, London.
Rev. Thos Lewis, London.
Rev. Thos Russell, Enfield.
John Finch, Esq., London.
Rev. W. Chaplin, Bishop Stortford.
Wm Lincoln, Esq.
James Wade, Esq., Leeds.
W. and J. Wade, Esqrs, Leeds.
A Minister, by the Rev. J. Carlile.

SUBSCRIBERS OF £25 EACH.

Rev. Thomas Soales, Leeds.
Rev. John Kelly, Liverpool.
Rev. Dr Vaughan, Manchester.
Rev. J. Stoughton, Kensington.
Rev. R. Ashton, Putney.
Rev. B. Backhouse, Rodborough.
Rev. J. G. Miall, Bradford.
Rev. Wm Henry Stowell, Rotherham.
Rev. John Ely, Leeds.
Rev. James Fridge, Halifax.
Rev. H. Richard, London.
J. Goulstone, Esq., London.
G. Matthews, Esq., London.
John Hooper, Esq., Westminster.

SUBSCRIBER OF £20.

Rev. Robert Bailey, Sheffield.

The avowed object of the congregationalists, as expressed by the Chairman and others, is to raise a very large sum, at least one hundred thousand pounds, and possibly a larger amount, within five years. The sums put down by each donor are to be appropriated, according to his own pleasure, to local objects (to which the greater part will no doubt be applied), to the central fund, to the British and Foreign School society, or to such other institution for the training of teachers as the donor may approve.

Evening Sitting.

This sitting was chiefly occupied by a long and protracted discussion on the subject of state education, and government grants for that purpose. A resolution was proposed which appears not to have satisfied the meeting, and which is not given in the published report of the proceedings. The discussion of the subject was finally adjourned until the following day.

Thursday Morning.

The subject of state education was again discussed, and, finally, the following resolution, moved by Mr A. WELLS, and seconded by Mr HAMILTON, of Leeds, was carried with but one dissentient:—

"4. That this meeting, utterly repudiating, on the strongest grounds of scripture and conscience, the receipt of money raised by taxation, and granted by government, for sustaining the Christian religion, feels bound to apply this principle no less to the work of religious education; and, considering that the education given by the congregational churches must be religious, advises most respectfully, but most earnestly, that no government aid be received by congregational churches for schools established in their own connexion. And that all funds confided to the disposal of the central committee in aid of schools, be granted only to schools sustained entirely by voluntary contributions."

Mr GEORGE SMITH, independent minister, of Poplar, then moved; and M. FISHER, Esq., seconded:—

"5. That this meeting expresses warm attachment to the British and Foreign School society, and a deep sense of the past services rendered by that institution, as well as an expectation of yet greater benefits from its future efforts in connexion with the extended movements, in the great work of general education, now entered upon by the various religious bodies of this country; and therefore advises, that the exertions of the congregational churches for general education be conducted, as far as practicable, in connexion with, and so as to sustain and strengthen, that society."

Moved by Dr CAMPBELL; seconded by Mr W. CHAPLIN, independent minister:—

"6. This meeting, anxious for improved as well as extended education, and for the real efficiency of daily schools, would set a high value on frequent, skilful, and fair inspection of schools by competent persons not appointed by the managing committees, though approved by such committees: and should it comport with the plans of the British and Foreign School society to appoint school inspectors, this meeting earnestly recommends that the visits of such inspectors be welcomed in all schools, wholly, or in part, sustained by the congregational churches."

Evening Sitting.

With the sitting of Thursday evening the conference closed. On some of the resolutions proposed, especially those having reference to the principle of centralisation, long and animated discussions took place. Before the termination of the proceedings the subjoined resolutions were adopted:—

Moved by Mr JOHN ELY, independent minister, of Leeds; seconded by Professor STOWELL:—

"7. The present meeting is strongly impressed with the important advantages to this great work, to be derived from the fullest attainable knowledge of all facts relating to it, and therefore confides to the central committee, as a principal part of its labour, the duty of obtaining and publishing accurate accounts of all that is done, and of all that is wanted, in general education, in connexion with the congregational churches."

Moved by Mr JOSEPH JOHN FREEMAN, independent minister; seconded by JOHN WILLIAM SMITH, Esq.:—

"8. The recommendation of this meeting to the congregational churches is, to make their efforts for general education co-extensive with their efforts to advance religion; that wherever there is a congregational church or mission, there, if possible, should be a daily school, sustained entirely, or promoted to the utmost, as the case may be, by the resources, local or central—or both—of the independents."

Moved by GEORGE HADFIELD, Esq.; seconded by JOSIAH CONDER, Esq.:—

"9. This meeting approves of denominational efforts for obtaining resources for general education, but would advise the congregational churches to use the resources so obtained, in co-operation with the efforts of Christians of other communions in this work, whenever they may not be able to establish schools in connexion with their own congregations."

Moved by Mr A. FRAZER, independent minister, of Blackburn; and seconded by G. WILSON, Esq.:—

"10. The meeting remembers, with the strongest interest and approbation, the labours of the congregational churches for so many years, in Sunday school instruction, and believes that the results have been of incalculable value. The meeting would entirely deprecate the idea, that increased efforts in other departments of education should diminish exertion in this; on the contrary, it would hope that Sabbath school instruction will be immensely facilitated, as well as rendered more exclusively religious, by the advantages obtained by the scholars in the daily and other schools. And as it is well known that hostile parties have endeavoured to withdraw children from our Sabbath schools, by refusing them admission into daily schools, it is felt that a vigorous system of daily instruction is required for the defence of our Sunday schools, on every account so important and indispensable to the churches. This meeting would also desire, that the statistics of our Sunday schools should be obtained and published by the central committee, in connexion with those of the other educational departments."

Moved by Mr H. J. BEVIS, independent minister, of Ramsgate; and seconded by THOMAS HAIGH, Esq., of Liverpool:—

"11. That this meeting recommends that the central fund, now commenced, be payable in five years from the 1st of January, 1844; and that it be permanently sustained by simultaneous annual collections in the churches, and by other contributions."

All trust funds and efforts to be, of course, entirely under local management; but all monies contributed by congregationalists, for such local efforts, to be eligible for publication in the lists of the central committee, their specific appropriation being distinctly stated.

Moved by Mr JAMES FRIDIE, independent minister,

of Halifax; and seconded by ROBERT MILLIGAN, Esq., of Bradford:—

"12. This meeting advises that the central fund be employed to aid—never, in any instance, to meet the entire charge—but always to assist local efforts—

"(1.) In procuring school buildings, where the need is very obvious, within strict limits to be hereafter defined.

"(2.) In obtaining for a new or an improved school, its first supply of fittings, apparatus, books, &c., &c.

"(3.) In the support of young men and women while obtaining instruction in the classes of normal schools, to qualify them for conducting daily or infant schools.

"(4.) In the maintenance of schoolmasters and mistresses where local resources are evidently insufficient.

"(5.) In maintaining a stipendiary secretary for this great work, whom the central committee is desired to seek for, and to appoint as early as possible."

Moved by EDWARD BAINES, jun., Esq., of Leeds; and seconded by Mr J. W. MASSIE, independent minister, of Manchester:—

"13. That this meeting deems it to be the principal duties of the central committee—

"(1.) To manage the central fund, by procuring contributions, by voting grants, and by presenting an annual account duly audited.

"(2.) To ascertain the satisfactory character of schools assisted by it, and the qualifications of the candidates for the office of schoolmaster or schoolmistress, whom it may aid in obtaining the requisite course of instruction in the normal schools; but it is understood that in no case will the central committee bear part in the management of particular schools, which must always remain in the hands of the local committees.

"(3.) To maintain correspondence on general education with the congregational churches, with the committee of the British and Foreign School society, and in general with all individuals, or public bodies, by whom the great object can be promoted.

"(4.) To procure and publish statistical returns of the efforts of the congregational churches in promoting education, whether in infant schools, daily schools, evening classes, or Sunday schools.

"(5.) To advance the cause of education among the congregational churches by deputations, public meetings, appeals from the pulpit, the publication of occasional statements, and other similar means.

"(6.) To co-operate in obtaining efficient school inspection.

"(7.) To report to the next annual assembly of the Congregational union of England and Wales all its proceedings, as well as generally on the whole subject of education in connexion with the independent churches; leaving it for consideration at that annual meeting whether any different organisation shall then be adopted; and that it be recommended that all the contributors to the educational fund shall be invited to that sitting."

Moved by Mr A. TIDMAN, independent minister, and seconded by M. FISHER, Esq., of Blandford:—

"14. The meeting would close its proceedings with an earnest appeal to the churches, and to their pastors and deacons, for those energetic efforts, both in their various localities, and in support of the central committee, upon which the success of this movement almost entirely depends. The meeting appeals to the churches, and to their pastors and deacons—

"(1.) To consider immediately the state of general education in their own several connexions and localities, and to adopt forthwith all necessary measures to improve and extend existing schools, and to originate new schools, as need may require.

"(2.) To contribute to their best ability, little or much, to the donations, by which the central fund must be originated, and to concur unanimously in the proposal for simultaneous collections on the last Lord's day in every June, by which its permanent income must be mainly supplied.

"(3.) To furnish promptly educational statistics in reply to the inquiries that will be made by the central committee.

"(4.) To co-operate and correspond vigorously both with the central committee on general education, and with the British and Foreign School society, in order that all the advantages of united effort may be added to those of local effort; and the utmost energies of the congregational churches be thus brought fully to bear on this work at the present crisis."

Moved by JOHN RAWSON, Esq., of Bradford, and seconded, that—

"15. Considering the great number of schools that may be expected to be established, the great number of trust deeds and renewals of trustees which, in course of time, will be required,

"It is resolved—

"That this meeting respectfully solicits the attention of the central committee to the following points:—

"(1.) The mischievous operation of the Mortmain act.

"(2.) An easy mode of appointing new trustees on the death or resignation of old trustees at the least possible expense.

"(3.) The constituency of each school, whether of donors, subscribers, and church members, within a certain district, or in connexion with them, of some and what other individuals.

"(4.) A model form of a trust deed."

Moved by EDWARD BAINES, jun., Esq., and seconded by JOSIAH CONDER, Esq., and carried with enthusiastic cheering—

"16. That this meeting offers its most cordial thanks to the honourable Chairman for his kindness in consenting to preside over this conference, for the impartial and able manner in which he has fulfilled the duties of the chair, for his munificent and influential example in heading the subscription list, and for his generous promise that he will perseveringly interest himself to promote the entire success of the present educational effort."

The CHAIRMAN, in acknowledging the vote, said—At this late hour I will not trespass on your patience. I repeat again my anxious wish to do all I can to aid this great and important movement. Notwithstanding the diversity of opinion on some points which has existed, there has been remarkable unity.

The conference then terminated.

By the latest accounts of the state of Earl Grey's health, we learn "that there existed no apprehension of a change for the worse."

General News.

FOREIGN.

AMERICA.

The steam ship *Caledonia* has brought intelligence from Boston to the 1st inst.

The *New York Herald* says, "At all events the annexation of Texas, and the taking possession of Oregon, will be the leading topics of discussion in the next Congress. President Tyler will introduce the question of Texas, and Mr Bentin, to counter check him, will bring forward that of Oregon. These questions will agitate and excite, but we doubt whether they will form parties, or divide the Union."

The Rev. Sydney Smith's letter on repudiation had been received, and had drawn forth much comment, and in some quarters no small abuse.

The recent election in Mississippi, where the question of paying the bonds was canvassed before the people, has, we regret to say, resulted in the choice of a large majority of those adverse to payment, and, therefore, postpones more and more the hope of ultimate redemption.

Upon the subject of repeal the *New York Herald* says, "The movements of the repealers in this country are singular enough. In Philadelphia there are two associations, who are quite at loggerheads. In Boston, one portion has gone over to the abolitionists, in obedience to the mandate of his holiness the Pope and Dan O'Connell. In other parts of the country the same divisions and differences have occurred."

With reference to Texas the same paper adds:—"The British government has presented claims of its subjects to land in Texas to the amount of from 10,000,000 to 20,000,000 acres. They are principally *empresario* grants, and the government has been notified by Captain Elliot, that unless the facts set forth by these claimants are refuted, or a satisfactory explanation given, her Britannic Majesty's government would feel fully authorised in taking steps to enforce the just claims of her subjects. This avowal indicates the course the British government intends to pursue with Texas in all matters."

The news from Canada is important. The executive council in a body, with the exception of Mr Daly, the provincial secretary, resigned on the 25th ult., and their resignations were accepted by the Governor-general. The names of the retiring members of the council are, the hon. Messrs Sullivan, Lafontaine, Baldwin, Hincks, Dunn, Small, Morris, Aylwyn, and Killaly. The reason of this expected change is said to be the desire of the council to be consulted upon all appointments to office, a claim to which it appears Sir Charles Metcalfe is not inclined to submit. The intelligence had not become known in Kingston until the 26th (Sunday), and the meeting of the House on the next day was looked to with great interest.

SPAIN.

A council of the ministers was held at Madrid on the 10th, at which it was resolved that the ex-regent, Queen Christina, should be recalled to Madrid, and a deputation, composed of two members of the chamber of deputies. M. Cortes and General Ros de Olano, was despatched forthwith to Paris to convey the invitation to her Majesty. No doubt the invitation will be accepted with all despatch, for fear of such sinister accidents as have happened before to destroy the hopes of her Majesty. It does not appear exactly in what capacity her Majesty is to return; but from the *Journal des Débats*, which is well informed upon every matter in which French intrigues in Spain are at all concerned, it appears that she is to have some mysterious office, of which the effect will no doubt be felt.

On the 11th inst, Count de Bresson, the new French ambassador, was presented to the Queen with the usual ceremony. Her Majesty was seated on her throne, and surrounded by her ministers and a brilliant court. M. de Bresson, on presenting his credentials, addressed her Majesty. The Queen replied as follows:—"I receive with lively pleasure the letters of credence which his sacred Majesty the King of the French, my august uncle, has confided to you. I hope that the interests of the two countries will be henceforth arranged, and will combine with the dignity which becomes both nations. The noble character and high capacity of the person chosen for the occasion, are a sure guarantee of the good harmony which is for the future to exist between the two nations."

This step on the part of the Spanish government shows what we are to expect. The moderados are determined to fight the battle, and they will risk all to obtain the victory. They are daily making their dispositions for the conflict. They have dismissed upwards of seventy gentlemen who held important, but not political, situations in the state, solely because they were progresistas. The *corps diplomatique* is now to be similarly treated, and moderados are to be substituted.

The discussion on the message of the Queen was still proceeding in the Chamber of Deputies. Much discussion has taken place, but little progress has as yet been made. The Chamber resolved, on the 7th, by 81 to 66, to take into consideration the bill of impeachment against Olozaga, moved by moderado deputies. From the numbers, several progresistas must have voted for the motion, as a means of sifting the question. It is said to be the object of the progresistas to protract the debate. On the 9th, M. Lopez (the late premier) addressed the chamber on a motion of which he had given previous notice, that it was not advisable to send a message to the Queen, or even to deliberate at all on the proposition made by M. Murillo to address the throne, on the subject of the Olozaga affair. M. Lopez addressed the cham-

ber with great warmth. He made a very radical speech, which had not concluded when the house adjourned. On the following day he resumed. He concluded with this warning to the moderados—"He had yet a great number of arrows in his quiver, which would do more injury than they thought of, and he would not hesitate to shoot them." M. Lopez's speech told tremendously against the ministry, and is calculated to have an effect on the country. Ultimately M. Lopez withdrew the first part of his proposition, which was therefore reduced to a simple motion that it was not expedient to discuss in the chamber the question of a message to the throne. The motion, as amended, was rejected by 77 to 62 votes.

M. Martinez de la Rosa (a moderado) then brought forward his motion, that no other subject should be brought forward till the question of the Queen's message had been settled, and finished his speech at the sitting of the next day, the 11th instant.

M. Olozaga, who spoke next, differed in opinion from M. Martinez de la Rosa. He advocated (says the *Times*) the boldest theories, and made use of most energetic language. Equality carried to the utmost limits was the favourite theme of the orator, who maintained that under a constitutional government the responsibility of the sovereign should not be less than that of the subject, and that both were liable to be called to the bar of public opinion to render an account of their conduct. The discussion was again adjourned.

The following extract from a leading article in the *Chronicle* throws some light on Spanish politics:—"Olozaga is represented as an ogre, who had laid violent hands on the Queen. Had this prime minister, on presenting himself to the infant Queen with the decree, been answered with a childish denial, and gone away, taking that denial as from a mature sovereign, and resigned thereon, the conduct of Senor Olozaga would have been greeted with a general laugh of derision from all Spain—from all Europe. Indeed, as it is, the first impulse, notwithstanding the gravity of the circumstance or its results, is to laugh outright. And a great damage it is to royalty to be made to provoke such a feeling. The Camarilla dread this above all things; and in order to invest the matter with all seriousness, they accuse Olozaga of high treason; and menace him seriously with the scaffold, or with deportation to the Philippine islands. It is not difficult to foresee where such an indecent mixture of tragedy and farce must end. Senor Olozaga has flung himself back on the liberal party, has been welcomed, and is supported by them. A violent sentence can only be executed by violence more absurd. Even if the army should support Narvaez and the Camarilla, the liberal deputies will retire once more, each to his province; and in three months the moderados will be hunted, like rats, out of the Peninsula. What effect Christina's return may have, remains to be seen. She may endeavour to hush up the matter, and reconcile Olozaga with the moderados; but it is too late, her presence will, more probably, act as a spark to kindle a new flame."

GREECE.

The Levant mail has brought some interesting news from Athens. The King's speech had been well received, and a commission named to draw up an address in reply. In the sitting of the 16th and 17th it was decided that on the subject of disputed elections the vote should be by ballot; on other subjects open voting was to be the rule.

The *Times* informs us that—"The dignified and patriotic speech which was delivered from the throne derives additional interest from the fact that it was the original and unaltered production of the pen of King Otho himself; and that this Prince, firmly supported by a very judicious and right-minded consort, has shown, not only his resolution to adhere to the constitutional pledges he has given to his people, but considerable tact and aptitude in the course of the discussions to which the embryo constitution has given rise."

"The presidency of the assembly having been deferred to Notaxos, as a homage to that patriotism which more than a century of life has not quenched, the four political chiefs in Greece, Coletti, Mavrocordato, Metaxa, and Londres, have combined to fill the more active posts of vice-presidents under the nominal control of this constitutional Nestor."

The absence of M. Katakasi, the Russian minister, at the opening of the National assembly, had already excited a good deal of comment, when, on the 23d of November, a Russian steamer of war arrived at the Piræus. The minister was summoned on board the vessel to receive his despatches; but no sooner had he set foot on the deck than a significant touch on the shoulder warned him that he was under arrest, and he returned on shore no more. All the legation, with the exception of one secretary, was embarked in the course of the afternoon, and the steamer bore away its freight of diplomatic convicts, without so much as a parting salutation to the King, the court, the national assembly, or the diplomatic body.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

RUSSIA.—EXTERMINATION OF THE JEWS.—The Emperor of Russia has, it seems, issued a ukase banishing the Jews from all those parts of his dominions which border on Austria and Prussia. The reasons assigned for this cruel decree, which expels nearly three hundred thousand individuals from house and home, without so much as even assigning them a dwelling wherein they may take refuge, are, forsooth, that the Jews have induced Russian soldiers to desert, and have been guilty of smuggling and general injustice.

DEATH OF THE EX-KING OF HOLLAND.—The *Times* of Monday records the somewhat unexpected demise of the once King of the Netherlands. He had been engaged in business that very morning, and was found by his aide-de-camp sitting in his own chair, struck by a fit of apoplexy, and apparently dead. All the attempts which were immediately made to recover his Majesty proved fruitless.

FATAL CONFLICT IN NEW ZEALAND.—The papers received from this colony contain further details of the fatal conflict in Cloudy Bay, which turns out to be more disastrous even than was anticipated. On the 15th of April Messrs Cotterell, Parkinson, and Barnicoat, having contracted with the New Zealand Company's agent to survey the lands at Wairau, left Nelson with about forty men, and landed at Wairau on April 25. Shortly after this, Rauparaha and Rangihaiata made known their determination to prevent the survey from proceeding, and arrived with a body of natives on the 1st of June. They began by burning down the houses of Mr Cotterell and Mr Parkinson. An information was then laid before the magistrate, Mr Thompson, who granted a warrant against Rauparaha and Rangihaiata, and determined to attend the execution of it himself. It appears that the party of Mr Cotterell were met by Mr Thompson's party, and returned with them to Wairau. They landed on the 16th of June, and proceeded about five miles up the river to a wood, where they expected to find the natives, who had moved up the river. They then found that the natives were posted on the right bank of a rivulet called Tua Marino, about thirty feet wide. The magistrate called upon Rauparaha and Rangihaiata, and requested a canoe to be placed across the rivulet, to form a bridge, which was done. He then, with the constables, interpreter, and some of the gentlemen, crossed over, and entered into a parley. Mr Thomson, through the interpreter, explained the contents of the warrant. The chiefs refused to surrender. The warrant was presented two or three times, and on each occasion about sixteen natives sprung upon their feet and leveled their muskets at the Europeans. Mr Thompson then ordered the men to cross the river, which they began to do, using the canoe as a bridge. At the same moment a general discharge of musketry took place on both sides. The natives were on the point of taking to flight, when Rauparaha raising a war cry, they darted across the rivulet and pursued the Europeans, the majority of whom never halted, but fled round the sides of the hill and escaped. The gentlemen, who were unarmed, accompanied by a small number of the men, formed upon the hill and lay down to wait the arrival of the natives. They then exhibited a white handkerchief as a token of peace, which was understood. Captain Wakefield then ordered the Europeans to deliver up their arms, which they did, and became prisoners. They were standing quietly in a group, when Rangihaiata, who had just discovered that one of his wives had been killed by a chance ball, came up and said to Rauparaha, "Don't forget your daughter." Rauparaha sat still and consented, and Rangihaiata, with his own hand, put to death the whole of the prisoners. The following is a list of the killed and missing:—Killed—Captains Wakefield and England; H. A. Thompson, Esq.; G. R. Richardson, Esq.; — Patchett, Esq.; — Howard, Esq.; — Cotterell, Esq.; Messrs John Brook, interpreter, Wm Clanzay, Thomas Ratcliffe, William Northam, Thos Pay Coster, James M'Gregor, William Gardner, Eli Cropper, Henry Bumforth, Thomas Tyrrell, and Isaac Smith. Missing—Malen, chief constable, Edward Stokes, Thomas Hannam, and John Burton. Several of the parties who fell on the occasion were persons of great talent and estimation in the colony. No apprehension was entertained of any attack on the settlements by the natives. The chiefs are supposed to have been instigated to opposition by some Europeans, who, in consequence of cohabitation with women of Rauparaha's tribe, set up claims to portions of the land in question.

THE SLAVE TRADE.—A letter from Bahia, dated October 4th, states, "That the slave trade is carried on there to a much greater extent than at any other port in South America." The letter further states that a schooner, belonging to an Englishman, arrived there a few days before with a cargo of 350 slaves, all of whom were immediately sent far into the interior.

SUICIDE OF M. JANIN.—The Paris correspondent of the *Globe* relates the suicide of M. Janin, the managing director of the Italian Opera, and his wife.—"They were found dead from the fumes of charcoal, which he had placed in a brazier on the floor; taking the precaution of putting it on the marble slab from a stove or sideboard, to prevent all danger of setting the house on fire. A few days ago, the cashier of the theatre was thrown into prison, on a charge of making up false accounts of the receipts, to defraud the proprietors, and the Administration des Hospices, which is entitled to one-tenth of the receipts. M. Vatel and M. Dormoy, who have a pecuniary interest in the theatre, waited on the cashier in prison, and learned from him that he had been instigated to the act by M. Janin. The latter, on learning this, resolved to destroy himself; and his wife, who was deeply affected, determined to share his fate. M. Vatel had previously done every thing in his power to hush up the affair, out of mercy to M. Janin; but in vain, as the police were resolved to follow it up. M. Janin's salary in the theatre was 12,000 francs a year."

CHANGE OF FORTUNE.—A Mr Dominic Von Malden, of Halifax, Nova Scotia, received information last week that he had become entitled to a fortune of £17,000 per annum by a deceased relative in Europe. When the news reached him he was em-

played in shoveling a heap of coals into his cellar. Mr Von Malden had resided in that city for many years, and earned a livelihood as a journeyman printer.—*American Paper*.

THE NESTORIAN CHRISTIANS.—Private advices from Constantinople of the 22d ult. announce the receipt of intelligence from Massoul of another slaughter by the Turks of the Nestorian Christians. Upwards of 200 of the latter were believed to have fallen under the Ottoman cimeter.

ANCIENT RUINS.—We have been informed by a gentleman who has traversed a large portion of the Indian country of Northern Texas, and the country lying between Santa Fé and the Pacific, that there are vestiges of ancient cities and ruined castles or temples on the Rio Puerco and on the Colorado of the West. He says, that on one of the branches of the Rio Puerco, a few days' travel from Santa Fé, there is an immense pile of ruins that appear to belong to an ancient temple. Portions of the wall are still standing, consisting of large blocks of limestone, regularly hewn, and laid in cement. The building occupies an extent of more than an acre. Our informant was unable to describe the style of architecture; but he believes it could not have been erected by Spaniards or Europeans, as the stones are much worn by the rains, and indicate that the building has stood several hundred years.—*Texas Telegraph*.

Zulueta's trial, we learn from a correspondent, has created a strong sensation in Cadiz. He writes: "I am assured from the best authority, that slaves are now insured at Cadiz by private notes of hand, though not to a great extent. The richest people in Cadiz have made their money by slave-dealing; it was, therefore, not surprising that the trial of Zulueta made a great sensation there. A man confessed to a gentleman in Cadiz, that the vessel which Zulueta purchased by order was a slaver, stating that he had bought some of the cooking-pots used for slaves. In truth, the thing is notorious."—*Anti-slavery Reporter*.

DOMESTIC.

METROPOLITAN.

REFORM OF THE LONDON CORPORATION.—A Court of Common Council was held on Thursday, to consider the report of the committee recommending the introduction of a bill into parliament to amend the act of the 11th George I.—in other words, to consider Mr Wire's scheme of corporation reform. Mr Wire advocated his measure at great length, and concluded by moving that the title of the bill be, "A Bill to Amend an Act," &c. Here a discussion arose on the point of order, whether the bill could be discussed before the report on which it was founded; and the Court decided on discussing the report. Alderman Brown then defended the rights of the freemen against the attempt to swamp them; and moved a resolution, that it was the bounden duty of the court to protect the citizens of London in the full enjoyment of the franchise. When he concluded, the debate was adjourned. Broad street ward met on Wednesday, and unanimously passed a resolution, that the plan was an invasion of the ancient rights of the freemen. The adjourned meeting to consider Mr Wire's motion respecting the introduction of a bill into parliament for a reform of the corporation of London, was held on Monday. After a protracted debate, Mr Wire's motion, which proposed that the court agree to the report of the committee, was lost, and Sir P. Laurie's amendment for burking the whole matter, carried by 113 to 54. An amendment to give powers to a ward committee to inquire into the power of the corporation to enforce upon all persons, whether carrying on business whether wholesale or retail, within the city, the obligation of taking up the freedom, and the propriety of enforcing the same upon all traders whomsoever, and particularly upon wholesale dealers, &c., was finally adopted as a substantive motion, having previously been rejected as an amendment.

MR BARING AND THE CONSERVATIVE BODY.—On Wednesday evening a meeting of the conservatives of the ward of Farringdon Without was held at the Sussex hotel, Bouverie street, and was remarkable only for the presence and speech of Mr Baring, the late candidate for the city. That gentleman made a long speech, urging union; pointing to the energy and unscrupulousness of the Anti-corn-law League; passing strictures on the "mere whigs," for consorting with "destructives;" and accusing Earl Spencer of inconsistency in advocating a repeal of the corn laws, because, as Lord Althorp, in 1834, he assured Mr Handley that he should support the corn laws then existing. Mr. Baring enumerated a list of "grievances" chargeable against Sir Robert Peel's government, beginning with improved trade, and ending with a surplus revenue. He looked forward to the next election in the city with confidence. His great feat, however, was a chivalric defence of the sliding scale.

CHRISTMAS FARE.—On Friday a great number of hampers were landed from Ostend, Havre de Grace, and Cherbourg, filled with turkeys, geese, and rabbits, for the London markets. Very large speculations have been entered into by the metropolitan poulterers for having an extensive supply of poultry from Belgium and France, to meet the demand that is always made at this jovial season; so that they can supply the public at a low price. They appeared plump and in excellent condition for Christmas fare, having been fattened for the occasion.

THE DESTITUTE POOR.—Several meetings have been held at London house, in the course of the last few days, for the purpose of maturing some comprehensive plan for relieving the destitute poor of the metropolis, and at the same time improving their

moral and social condition. Those meetings have been attended by several noblemen and gentlemen, and incumbents of metropolitan parishes; and, after much deliberation, it has been resolved to form an "Association for the relief of destitution, and the improvement of the condition of the poor in the metropolis, by means of parochial and district visiting." The Lord Bishop of London will be president of the association, and it is settled that the whole of the funds shall be directly applied to the relief of the indigent after all proper inquiry has been made by gratuitous visitors. The rules and regulations will shortly be announced to the public.—*Times*. [The rules, with our comment, will be found in another column.]

Three nurses at the Lambeth workhouse have been dismissed for administering opium to an infant twelve months' old, in order to "sleep it." The child died in consequence.

CUSTOM HOUSE FRAUDS.—In the Court of Queen's bench, on Friday, Mr Blake, formerly a land-waiter, was found guilty, under a criminal information which accused him of conspiring with Mr Tye, a custom-house agent, to defraud the customs' revenue. The goods were imported in the ship City of Boulogne, in 1840, on account of Messrs Vidil and Co. Tye was abroad, beyond the jurisdiction of the Court, and did not appear. Sentence was not pronounced.

CHEAP SHIRT MAKING.—On Thursday, at St Pancras workhouse, an old woman, named Ann Benson, was examined on an inquest held there, when she was asked—

"How are you used in the workhouse?"—Very well—(adding, after a pause), but I work very hard for a farthing."

"What do you mean by that?"—"I make a shirt for it."

"What sort of a shirt?"—"Generally striped shirts, but we put good enough work in them for any gentleman to wear. They are obliged to be done with goodness and exactness, or we should not be allowed to earn the farthing."

"Where does the material come from?"—"It is warehouse work, sir. They come to the workhouse by hundreds to be made."

"How many can you make in a day?"—"Perhaps one, by working all day."

"And what do you do with all the money?"—"Buy tea and sugar with it."

DEFEATING THE ENDS OF JUSTICE BY ITS OFFICERS.—When a prisoner is examined before a magistrate, the first care of his worship is to caution the man to say nothing that may betray him, as if the great business of justice was to keep the truth from too prompt and distinct a discovery. Police officers are looked coldly on or rebuked if they tender any evidence of confession, though not extorted, but yielded in the confusion of guilt or in the despair of concealment. They profit by these lessons, and become the protectors of criminals. A remarkable case in point has just occurred. A miscreant forcibly violated an infant under five years of age, the child of his mistress. When apprehended he began his confession to the officer, who stopped him short, desiring him to say nothing to commit himself, just as a magistrate would have done. The only evidence for the conviction of the wretch was thus excluded. The horribly injured child was under the age for an oath, and her testimony could therefore not be had, and there was no other, the lips of the criminal having been closed by the servant of justice when about to reveal the particulars of his detestable crime. The man is therefore acquitted, may repeat the same part to-morrow, and others may imitate him, and the police fulfil the office of the criminal's remembrancer.—*Examiner*.

MESMERISM.—SERIOUS PRACTICAL JOKE.—We have received (says the *Chronicle*) the following extraordinary statement from a known correspondent:—On Friday last, as James Cooke, an errand boy, thirteen years of age, in the employ of Messrs Smith and Sons, hat manufacturers, Deptford bridge, was sitting with his young master in the warehouse, the latter (who has recently attended several lectures on mesmerism) said "Jem, I'll mesmerise you, look me in the face." The boy, not fearing anything, complied, and his master having made the requisite passes for about three minutes, became alarmed at seeing his head drop and his eyes close. He was now in a state of mesmeric coma, and Smith tried the back passes for a long time without producing the slightest effect towards recovery. Being greatly alarmed, he sent for Mr Taylor, a gentleman who has been lecturing on mesmerism at the Greenwich Literary, &c., Institution. That gentleman immediately attended, and, after trying his utmost skill for some hours, succeeded in opening his eyes. This was the extent of his power; for, although he has remained with him ever since, the boy is as much under the influence of this miraculous power as when first operated upon. The phenomena of clairvoyance are very curiously exhibited in this case, for, with his eyes fast closed, he recognises persons and objects with as much facility as if they were optically visible to him; he names persons before they enter the room, and pretty accurately describes places that he never saw. He has been visited by numerous medical men; amongst the number were Mr Downing, the police surgeon; Mr Hope, of the Dreadnought seaman's hospital ship, and Messrs Hope, of Deptford. The boy continues in a state of alternate ecstasy and stupor; from the latter, however, he is easily roused. He appears frequently to suffer great bodily pain, and expresses himself to do so. Mr Taylor operates for it, and removes the symptoms gradually, but they return on the least excitement. His health remains good, but he is gradually sinking under the excitement, and, if something be not speedily done for him, it is the opinion of medical gentle-

men that death must ensue. A report was spread through Greenwich and Deptford that he had expired, and, in consequence, Mr Inspector Douglas, of the R division of police, with several constables, proceeded to the house of Messrs Smith, where the boy was lying on a sofa in the drawing room; but finding he was still alive, they returned and kept a strict watch upon the case under the advice of the surgeon to the force. It is considered a serious matter for the operator, as, in the event of death, the circumstances will have to be laid before a coroner's jury. Dr Elliotson, of London, has been consulted by Messrs Smith, who act upon his advice. A late account says that the poor boy awoke from his torpor to full consciousness shortly before six o'clock on Sunday night. It is remarkable that during the influence of the coma, the boy appeared gifted with the faculty generally denominated "second sight." Although he never had visited the Painted hall at Greenwich, nor the exhibition of Madame Tussaud, in Baker street, Portman square, during the time he was mesmerised he accurately described the interior of both these exhibitions; and the accuracy of his detail of them was truly surprising.

LONDON PEACE SOCIETY.—LECTURES IN THE CITY OF LONDON.—In addition to the meetings which are being held in the borough of the Tower Hamlets, the committee of the Peace society have determined on the delivery of a number of lectures, during the present winter, in and near the City. Three of these lectures have been already delivered—the first by Mr Jefferson, at the chapel in New Broad street; the second by Dr Styles, at the Weigh-house chapel, Fish street hill; and the third by Mr Rigaud, at the Friends' meeting house, Gracechurch street. The attendance on these occasions has been highly respectable, and encouraging in point of numbers. Marked attention was displayed on each occasion to the sentiments set forth by the lecturers, and upwards of 130 persons signed the declaration, expressing their approval of the society's fundamental principle, "That war is inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity, and the true interests of mankind."

ABORIGINES' PROTECTION SOCIETY.—At the last meeting of this society some recent information has been communicated regarding a most cruel and wholesale sacrifice of life that has been carried on, for some time, in certain districts in New Holland, relative to the aboriginal natives. It is contained in a letter, communicated from Mr J. B. Thompson, M.D., Pall Mall, and contains the following facts:—

In certain districts in the Bunya Bunya country some sheep flocks became affected with scab, and in the effort at curing them of this a preparation of arsenic is generally had recourse to; and, during this period, the sheep are not allowed to range far from the squatter's settlement or habitation until a cure is accomplished; but when this remedy fails, and there is no prospect of saving the sheep, it had latterly been the custom to let the sheep considered incurable at large, and previous to doing so they are rubbed over again with the preparation of arsenic until they become saturated with the remedy. They are then driven far away into the vicinity of where the unsuspecting victims are bivouacking, and who, from the encroachment of the settlers and the loss of their natural means of subsistence—the kangaroos, &c.—are driven, by dire necessity, to take off a few sheep from any stray flock they may fall in with. The natives soon discover these sheep thus put in their way; they take them to their gunyas, or wood encampments, kill them, and partake of the flesh, which, as was intended, is now surcharged with poison; and it is unnecessary to relate the fatal results to the poor natives. They soon become seized with all the fearful symptoms of poisoning by arsenic, and, horrible to contemplate, die in the most excruciating agony; those of them that escape leave the bodies of their friends and relatives behind, a prey to the carrion birds of the forest. In this instance six or eight of the poor natives died, though fifty or sixty of them suffered for days from the effects of the poisoned meat.

PROVINCIAL.

THE LEAGUE FUND.

By far the most effective and enthusiastic demonstration in favour of free trade ever held in Leeds, was the one which took place there on Wednesday night. The saloon of the Music hall is the largest room in the town, and before the doors had been opened fifteen minutes, it was crowded in every part from the floor to the ceiling. There was no tea or refreshment of any kind, and charges of 2s., 1s., and 6d., were made for admission; yet such was the excitement which existed in the town, that the first issue of tickets was all sold on Tuesday morning, and in consequence of the incessant demand for them, the committee issued about a hundred more saloon tickets, which were immediately sold. Messrs Cobden, Bright, and Colonel Thompson, were the deputation from the League. The chair was occupied by the mayor, Hamer Stansfeld, Esq. The amount collected in aid of the League's fund when the room closed was 2,110l. 6s.; the Messrs Marshall subscribed 500l., and Mr J. Marshall 300l. Mr Cobden made a practical and effective speech, giving the people of Leeds some wholesome advice in reference to their advocacy of the free trade question.

He wished to impress this particularly upon the young men of Leeds, who had their way to make in the world. He was the more anxious also to do so, because Leeds had been a drag and a drawback to the free traders in parliament; for the monopolists there pointed to it, exclaiming, "Look at Leeds; there is a great manufacturing town, without sugar lords, or timber lords, or landlords, and without any sinister interests; there is an impartial jury; and when the case was stated before them at the last election, Leeds had so little made up its mind that these monopolies were an injury to trade, that they were perfectly stagnant and indifferent about the matter, and sent one man up to say 'Yes,' and another to say 'No,' to every question of the kind brought forward in parliament" [laughter, and cries of "Hear, hear"]. Now he would advise them, if they intended to

continue that system, to recommend their two members to pair off at the beginning of the session, and thus save themselves the trouble of attending the house of Commons [loud laughter]. Nor was it Leeds merely. The West Riding of Yorkshire was represented by two monopolists ["Hear, hear," and "Shame, shame"]. It was Leeds that was responsible for the loss of the West Riding, for he was told in a neighbouring town that while they were getting on gloriously in their polling district there, at every arrival from Leeds their hearts sunk within them to see how they were going back [hear, hear]. The people of Leeds had a great deal to do, but it might be done—it must be done [applause]. He would guarantee, if they worked as they ought to do, that at the end of twelve months no monopolist whatever would venture to offer himself in the borough again as their representative [tremendous applause].

In comparing the relative merits of total repeal and a fixed duty, Mr Cobden said some there were who, though agreeing with them about total repeal of the corn laws, thought that it ought not to be immediate. Now he would engage that there was not an honest farmer or landowner throughout the country, who, if the question were put to him, would not decide in favour of an immediate in preference to a gradual repeal [tremendous cheering]. When he had the honour of seeing Earl Fitzwilliam at Doncaster, that nobleman assured him in conversation—and he did not believe that he meant it to be regarded as a secret—that nothing was so strongly impressed upon his mind as the necessity for the change being immediate and not gradual [enthusiastic cheering]. In the course of a long and eloquent speech, Mr Bright gave a graphic description of the manner in which the corn laws were imposed.

He found that on the 1st of March, 1815, the Corn bill was read a first time; that on the 3rd it was read a second time; that on the 6th of the same month the House went into committee on the bill; and that on the 10th of the month it was read a third time and passed [shame, shame]. There was at that time a young man in that house in connexion with one of the largest mercantile houses in this country, who denounced that measure as one intended only to raise rents at the expense of the great mass of the bread consumers of the country [hear, hear]. He was charged with being the friend of sedition and of incendiarism, and was called a revolutionist, and various other epithets which were now so freely applied to the friends of the Anti-corn-law League [hear, hear]. That man was Alexander Baring. * * * There were riots in London in those days. Some houses were sacked, but the corn law had sacked hundreds of thousands of cottages [hear, hear]. The House of Commons was surrounded by the police and military, and the gallery and lobby were crowded; and the landlords—patriotic and devoted men [laughter]—were burning the midnight oil ostensibly for the benefit of this country, but, as twenty years' experience had told them, and proved to them, for the destruction of the best interests of the country, and for the increase solely of their own rent-roll. Well, three days after the third reading in the House of Commons, this bill was read the first time in the House of Lords—an admirable tribunal to form a decision on a question like this [laughter]. Half a county was held by some of them, and they sat there to decide whether it was more advantageous to them to have very high prices for the produce of their land, or moderate and natural prices [hear, hear]. Well, two days more having elapsed, the bill was read a second time in the House of Lords. The deliberation was not, therefore, very prolonged—there seemed to be very few doubts presenting themselves [laughter and applause]; and in five days more it was read a third time and passed [shame, shame]. Well, about 40,000 of the citizens of London sent a petition to ask to be heard by counsel at the bar of the House of Lords to prove that this law was destructive to their interest; and these noble and illustrious personages declared that they had had information enough [hear, hear]—in effect, that the case was complete; precisely as if a judge on the bench was to say, when the evidence for the prosecution was gone through, then was the time for the jury to make up their minds, and determine their verdict, or upon that one-sided case judgment would be pronounced [hear, hear]. And three days after this, in one moment, by the operation of the royal pen, this bill became a law of the empire [shame, shame]. It thus took twenty-three days for the landowners to enact this law, amidst the most loudly expressed opposition on the part of the people that ever had been heard in condemnation of any law [hear, hear]. They knew its tendency, and how bad was its principle [hear, hear]. They hired men and paid them 6s. a day, and 3s. expenses, to go into all the public houses in London to ascertain the opinions of the people in respect to this law, and report thereon to the government [hear, hear]. And they (the League) had in their possession the original papers, signed by the Bow street magistrates, authorising the payment of these spies for the services so rendered to the government [hear, hear]. The other speakers were, the Mayor, Col Thompson, and Messrs J. Marshall, Delupton, Carbutt, and Baines. The total amount of subscription, up to Friday night, was £2,500.

HALIFAX.—A similar meeting took place on the previous day at Halifax, to meet the same deputation from the Council of the League. Mr Acroyd was in the chair, and among the speakers was Mr C. Wood, M.P. for the borough, who professed his intention of supporting Mr Villiers's motion for total repeal. £1,430 was collected, which on Friday night was swelled to £1,600.

WIGAN.—In this borough also an effective meeting was held, and £350 raised for the League fund.

MANCHESTER.—One of the largest meetings perhaps ever held in the Free Trade hall, took place in that spacious building on Thursday evening, for the purpose of affording an opportunity to Mr Bright, M.P., Mr W. J. Fox, and Colonel Thompson, to deliver addresses in favour of the principles of free trade, and to receive a report of the progress of the fund. About half-past seven o'clock the chair was taken, amid loud cheers, by Mr George Wilson, who having opened the proceedings, Mr Hicklin, the secretary of the League, read a report, from which it appeared, that since the last announcement of subscriptions in the public papers, Messrs Phillips and C. had given £600, Mr George Foster £200, Ken-

worthy and Co. £100, the Mayor of Manchester £60, and that altogether, up to that time, the Manchester subscriptions amounted to £20,280 15s. 4d. The announcement was received with vehement applause. Mr Bright, Mr Fox, and Col Thompson then addressed the multitude, and each at considerable length. The speeches were excellent, and well calculated to advance, not only the anti-corn-law cause, but to spread democratic opinions. Mr Bright made the following reference to municipal institutions:—

Last night, at a meeting in one of the most important cities in the north of England, the mayor took the chair, and expressed his determination cordially to co-operate with the League. Now I find that there is a delicacy in the minds of some men as to the course they ought to take when placed in such situations. I would ask, for what was it that municipal institutions were appointed in the towns of this country? Had they no higher office in view than the watching of houses and the sweeping of streets, and the minor matters connected with the police of the town? They had a higher, a far higher and more solemn office to discharge—they were placed there to form a barrier against the encroachments of a feudal aristocracy [loud cheers]. They were intended to be a rallying point; it was hoped by their means the population of the towns would organise themselves together, so that they might be able to defend the rights and interests of commerce. I remember reading in a French author, De Tocqueville, on "The Democratic Institutions of America," where he declares that there can be no fear for the rights of the people of the United States so long as they maintain in all their integrity their municipal institutions [hear, hear]. I can understand the sensitiveness of these men; I can understand that they should be anxious not to tarnish the office they hold by interfering in ordinary political questions; but when there is a political question like this, not a mere dirty party squabble, but a great contest on which the eyes of the world are fixed—when men who have laboured for years among their townsmen, have become honoured for the exertions they have made in their service, and have been exalted to preside over the town in which they have lived—then I say it becomes their duty to give the sanction of their names at once to those great national contests in which the country for the time being may be engaged [hear, hear].

Mr Fox said he looked upon the League as indirectly the promoter of all desirable reforms:—

To Mr Cobden, in conjunction with his worthy fellow-labourers, is owing that which I regard as one of the great blessings of the Anti-corn-law League, indirect, indeed, but not unworthy of being confronted with its direct effect; I mean this, that when the reform for which you strove shall be accomplished, when the victory of the League is gained, and its labours are over; when the League may have ceased to be in existence, it will live beyond all these, the surety and pledge of all other desirable reforms; it will leave the ample materials of future good for our country in the knowledge it has diffused, in the intelligence it has stimulated, in the integrity it has cherished, in the independence of spirit which it will have fostered and matured, in the large views of other interests to which it will have expanded men's thoughts, in the brotherhood of feeling that it will have generated between classes too often hostile to each other, and between nations too often engaged in sanguinary warfare; and thus, in the moral elements of future good, these reforms will be the pledge, the germ of a thousand reforms, raising it to a noble elevation, and endowing England with the renewal of what her great poet would say, her ancient privilege and prerogative of "teaching nations how to live."

The meeting separated about half-past ten o'clock.

The *Manchester Times*, of Saturday, gives the following summary of subscriptions to the League fund:—"Forty thousand pounds have already been contributed to the League fund. The following, in round sums, are the contributions of the few towns in which the beginning has been made:—Manchester, £20,200; Liverpool, £5,500; Glasgow, £3,000; Rochdale, £1,800; Huddersfield, £1,400; Leeds, £2,100; Halifax, £1,450; Wigan, £350; Holmfirth, £120. With upwards of four thousand pounds from London, and other places, after the announcement that £100,000 would be required, and before and since the commencement of the Manchester subscription.

REFUSAL OF THE TOWN HALL FOR A PUBLIC MEETING.—It is our unpleasant duty to announce that the mayor, William Barnett, Esq., has, in the face of a requisition numerously and respectfully signed, refused to allow the inhabitants the use of their own Town hall, for a meeting to receive Messrs Cobden, Bright, and other gentlemen, as a deputation from the Anti-corn-law League.—*Macclesfield Chronicle*.

PROGRESS OF FREE TRADE.—At the Hailsham cattle show dinner last Wednesday, a discussion on the corn laws took place between Mr G. Darby, M.P. for East Sussex, and Mr H. B. Curteis, M.P. for Rye. The former declared his opinion unaltered; but Mr Curteis appeared to have become almost, if not quite, a free trader. He canvassed Rye previous to the last election as an advocate for a fixed duty of 10s.; but he believed that even the strong advocates of protection would now jump at a fixed duty of 10s. At all events he, as a landlord, would. He was an advocate for a fixed duty; but he had not made up his mind what the amount should be. When, however, he saw such a man as Lord Spencer, who had now ceased to be a party politician, and devoted his attention to agricultural pursuits, who had been the first president of the Royal Agricultural Society of England, and was now president of the Smithfield cattle club, and whose property was entirely agricultural—when he heard such a man declare his belief that agriculture was not benefited by a protecting duty, he (Mr Curteis) confessed that his own opinions, even on the subject of a fixed duty, were somewhat staggered.

PRIZE ESSAY.—The *Welshman* will throw open, to be competed for by all Wales, a prize, inconsiderable in amount; but one that we are certain is sure to elicit such comprehensive essays as we contem-

plate. We are not prepared at this moment to deal with the thing in detail; for the present it will be enough to say that the *Welshman* will give twenty-five pounds for the best essay illustrative of Cambrian character, habits, and condition—the adjudicators to be Welshmen—men bred and born in *Aen Gymru*.—*Welshman*.

AGRICULTURAL MEETINGS.—The annual show of stock and the agricultural dinner at Steyning were held on Monday the 11th inst, the Duke of Norfolk in the chair. There were two notable points in the speeches. The Duke of Richmond "stated most emphatically, that he was the staunch friend of agriculture; and that upon the agricultural interest was based the welfare of this nation. His opinions were unchangeable and unchanged; and with that interest he would sink or swim." And Mr H. D. Goring, who spoke last year, or was reported to speak, in such terms that many persons took him for a free trader, now said, that a "misunderstanding had gone forth in the newspapers; he was no free trader, nor ever should be." The Brill District Conservative association dined on Thursday. The Duke of Buckingham and the Marquis of Chandos were present; the county members absent. The speeches were trite and tame. The health of the Premier is said to have been very coldly received; and it was followed by a song called "The man could never get warm," "which elicited as much laughter for its supposed allusion as for its inherent humour." The Duke of Buckingham said a good deal about the necessity of supporting British agriculture; he regretted that gentlemen who made speeches at agricultural dinners in support of the toast "Prosperity to the British farmer," detracted from the merit of those speeches by giving contrary votes; and he "solemnly called on the representatives of the agricultural interest throughout all parts of the United Kingdom, to come forward now, and steadily to maintain the opinions which they had broached at the hustings; and, by their votes, record their firm adherence to the cause of the British farmer."

DEATH FROM EXPOSURE AND STARVATION.—After three adjournments, a coroner's jury closed an inquiry into the death of Maria Plummer, at Sidcup, in the Bromley union, on Wednesday. The woman, who was forty-nine years of age, had been separated from her husband. Some time back, he was punished for ill-treating her; and she herself having been in prison for some minor offence, he refused to take her into his house. She wandered about, obtaining occasional aid from neighbours, and sometimes sleeping in the open air, until she died in a public house, of complaints brought on by exposure and want of food. Some blame was cast on the relieving officer; but he stated that he could not relieve her, because she had a husband; and he feared to be reprimanded by the board of guardians. In point of fact, the woman did not ask him to relieve her, but only to oblige her husband to find her a lodging; and he sought the man for the purpose. The jury returned a verdict of "Manslaughter against George Plummer, the husband of the deceased;" and he was committed to Maidstone goal for trial.

MORE INCENDIARISM.—A rick of beans, standing in a stack-yard at Irchester, in the occupation of Mr John Ward, of Grendon, Northamptonshire, was destroyed by fire on the 7th instant. A stack of barley adjoining was also much damaged. A reward was offered. About five o'clock on the morning of Saturday last, two stacks of corn, one of wheat and another of barley, were destroyed by the torch of the incendiary on the farm of Mr Thomas Rawson, of Scrivelsby, near Horncastle, Lincolnshire. £125 reward has been offered. The *Times* of yesterday contains further accounts of incendiary fires. At Soham, on Tuesday last, wheat stacks and corn, valued at £600, were destroyed. At Somersham, no less than four fires have taken place during the last fortnight. An attempt at incendiarism, on the premises of Mr Story, farmer, at Eakring, Nottinghamshire, was happily defeated on Tuesday last, two corn stacks, in the centre of a yard, having been set fire to. The flames were extinguished before any material damage was done.

THE MORMONITES.—Another life has been lost through the delusions of this strange sect. Robert Turner, a spring-knife cutler, of Sheffield, was a mormon priest. On Sunday, the 19th of November, he gave out that if any person felt thoroughly convinced of the truth of the religious principles which he professed and preached, and would attend early on the following morning, he would baptise them in the river Rother. Accordingly very early on the following morning, several persons met Turner, their preacher, in a meadow called "Fairy Meadow," adjoining the river above Woodhouse Mill, and the party, after praying and singing, and being addressed by one of their preachers from Sheffield, as to the absolute necessity of their being born of water and of the spirit, or else they could not enter the kingdom of heaven, several of their disciples proceeded at once to strip off all their clothes, and Turner plunged into the river, which was deep and considerably swollen by the late rains, followed by one William Bellamy, a collier, whom he baptised, and he got out safe; and then one Mathew Gregory went in, and the priest, after plunging him over head, to use the man's own words, and nearly "slovening" him, he, with great difficulty, half drowned, much starved and frightened, scrambled out of the river and saved his life; but Turner, on leaving hold of Gregory, unfortunately slipped forward into the deep water, and the current running strong, he was carried away into the middle of the river, and soon sank to rise no more. Exertions were made to save the man without effect. His body was subsequently

found, and at an inquest held upon it, a verdict of "Accidental death" was returned.

A HUNDRED SHEEP BURNED TO DEATH.—On Sunday last, about five o'clock in the evening, two stacks and sheepsheds were discovered to be on fire, near Nuzewick Farm, Chelmsford. The sheepsheds were enclosed, and 101 ewes in lamb were burnt to death. It is supposed to have been the act of an incendiary.—*Essex Standard.*

LEDBURY, HEREFORDSHIRE.—**EDUCATION.**—A meeting of the friends of education took place in this town, on Wednesday last, when they were addressed by Mr J. E. Evans, baptist minister, on the subject of education. After which it was resolved that steps should at once be taken to fit up school rooms connected with the baptist chapel, which remain in an unfinished state, and that a school be at once opened on the British system for boys and girls; and, also, that the support of the friends of education be solicited in behalf of this project. The result of this, we anticipate, will be most beneficial on the minds of the rising generation in this benighted neighbourhood; and we do earnestly pray that we may be enabled to carry out our purpose to the utmost.—*Correspondent.*

EDUCATION AT CHELTENHAM.—The friends of education will be glad to find that in this town a day school, for the children of the working classes, of both sexes, was opened on Monday, Dec. 11th, in connexion with Highbury chapel, under the immediate sanction of the stated minister, Mr E. Morton Brown, M.A., and an active working committee. On Tuesday evening last, a tea meeting was held at the chapel, at which more than three hundred attended, for the purpose of introducing Mr Macfarlane, from Glasgow (their newly appointed teacher), to the parents and friends of the children. At this meeting, Mr Brown, several members of the committee, and Mr M'Pherson, from Reading, addressed those present, and Mr Macfarlane gave an outline of the system of instruction which he proposed to adopt. A more interesting and gratifying scene can scarcely be conceived, than to see such a combined effort to promote the cause of human improvement. The number of children already in the school is 110. We hope that this example will stimulate to the universal adoption of day schools for the poor in connexion with every other place of worship in the kingdom.

BIRTHS.

Dec. 13, the wife of Mr SAMUEL SPURGEON, baptist minister, Guernsey, of a son.
Dec. 14, in Stanhope street, Hampstead road, the wife of Mr J. W. RICHARDSON, minister of Tottenham court road chapel, of a son.

MARRIAGES.

Dec. 7, at Leeds, SAMUEL SMILES, M.D., to SARAH ANNE, only daughter of John HOLMES, Esq., St George's terrace, Leeds.

Dec. 13, at Cannon street chapel, by Mr Thomas Morgan, the pastor, Mr WILLIAM LEXSON, of Little Hampton street, to Miss SARAH MEADOWS, of Hill street.

Dec. 13, at the Friends' meeting house, Castlegate, York, EDWARD RICHARDSON, Esq., coal owner, Bishop Wearmouth, to GULIELMA, daughter of Samuel TUCK, Esq., of the former place.

Dec. 9, at the Whiting street chapel, Bury St Edmunds, by Mr E. Dewhurst, independent minister, of Billericay, Mr A. GORE, draper, of Billericay, to SOPHIA MARY DEWHURST, eldest daughter of Mr C. Dewhurst, independent minister, of Bury St Edmunds.

Dec. 12, at the independent chapel, Hales Owen, by the pastor, Mr E. Reeve, Mr J. JONES, to Miss EMMA DABBY, both of Hales Owen.

Dec. 12, by license, at Wotton-under-Edge Tabernacle, by the pastor, Mr R. Knill, WILLIAM STONER, Esq., of Kingswood, in the county of Wilts, to Miss MARY MATILDA LEWIS, only daughter of Mr John Lewis, of the former place.

Dec. 14, at Wotton-under-Edge tabernacle, THOMAS FIFIELD, to ANN WINDOW, both of the same town.

Dec. 14, at Wotton-under-Edge tabernacle, Mr JOHN HOWARD, of Hillsley-mills, to Miss MARY ANN ELLIOTT of the same place.

Dec. 14, at the independent chapel, Russell street, Dover, by the pastor, Mr Samuel Brewer, Mr WM R. MUMFERY, of King street, to ESTHER ANN, daughter of John GANGE, Esq., ordnance store-keeper of that place, being the first marriage solemnised in that place of worship.

Dec. 14, at the congregational chapel, Hungerford, Berks, by the pastor, Mr R. Frost, Mr JOHN CLEMENT to ELIZABETH SILVEY, both of Hungerford.

DEATHS.

Dec. 10, at Lyons, M. C. CASIMIR DELAVIGNE, the well-known French poet.

Dec. 10, at Newport, Isle of Wight, Mr JAMES SPENCE, late minister of the independent chapel, Node Hill, aged 51. He was a warm supporter of the liberal cause in Newport, and a zealous advocate in forwarding every proposal which had for its end the welfare of his fellow creatures.

Dec. 12, at Dalton, at the house of her brother-in-law, Mr Barandon, Mrs AMELIA PROUD, recently of Brighton, and relict of the late Joseph V. Proud, Esq., formerly of Camberwell New road.

Dec. 14, JOHN CLAUDIUS LOUDON, Esq., Porchester terrace, Bayswater, celebrated for his numerous works on botany, gardening, and agriculture, aged 50.

Dec. 16, at Sulby hall, from a fall while hunting in Northamptonshire, Lord Inverurie, eldest son of Earl Kintore.

Trade and Commerce.

LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, Dec. 15.

The following building is certified as a place duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to the act of 6 and 7 William IV, cap. 85:—

Wesleyan chapel, Tunstall, Staffordshire.

BANKRUPTS.

BULLOCK, GEORGE, Derby, tobacconist, Dec. 27, Jan. 19: solicitors, Mr Seagill, Hatton garden, London; Mr S. G. Smith, Derby; or their agent, Mr James Motteram, Birmingham.

GORE, THOMAS, Broadstairs, Kent, baker, Dec. 23, Jan. 30: solicitors, Messrs Davison and Co., Broad street, London, and Mr Wightman, Ramsgate.

GRAVES, RAYNER, Edward street, Portman square, saddler, Dec. 27, Jan. 24: solicitor, Mr E. Burdett, Curriers' hall, London wall.

HUBBUCK, WILLIAM, South Shields, Durham, pawnbroker, Jan. 8, Feb. 7: solicitors, Messrs Crosby and Compton, 3, Church court, Old Jewry, London, and Mr J. T. Hoyle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

KIDD, JOHN, Kendal, Westmorland, grocer, Dec. 28, Feb. 6: solicitors, Mr H. Humphreys, Gray's inn, London, and Messrs B. and R. Moser, Kendal.

READ, WILLIAM, King street, Covent garden, engraver, Dec. 23, Feb. 6: solicitor, Mr Kinsey, Bloomsbury square.

SMITH, JOHN, Stoke-upon-Trent, Staffordshire, corn dealer, Jan. 1, Feb. 5: solicitor, Mr W. Young, Longton, Staffordshire.
SOUTHGATE, HENRY, 22, Fleet street, City, auctioneer, Jan. 4, 25: solicitors, Messrs Burrell and Co., White Hart court.
THOMAS, OWEN WYNN, Clement's court, and 224, Milk street, City, silk warehouseman, Jan. 4, 25: solicitor, Mr W. Jones, Parliament street.

THOMPSON, FRANCIS, Southampton, tailor, Jan. 4, 25: solicitors, Messrs Davis and Co., Throgmorton street, London.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

BLACK, ROBERT, Brechin, manufacturer, Dec. 21, Jan. 11.
CATIE, ALEXANDER, Dundee, wine merchant, Dec. 19, Jan. 9.
POTTER, JAMES, sen., Nettlehill, farmer, Dec. 19, Jan. 16.
THOMPSON, ROBERT, St Andrews, tailor, Dec. 22, Jan. 19.

Tuesday, Dec. 20th.

The following building is certified as a place duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to the 6th and 7th William IV, cap. 85:—

West Parade Chapel, Wakefield, Yorkshire.

BANKRUPTS.

BARRY, FREDERICK, Rye, Sussex, miller, January 2, January 30: solicitors, Messrs M'Leod and Stenning, 13, London street, Fenchurch street.

BUNKER, JAMES EBER, 47, Lower Shadwell, merchant, January 3, 31: solicitor, Mr Buchanan, 8, Basinghall street.

CHAMPION, RICHARD, Friday street, City, furrier, December 29, January 26: solicitors, Messrs Wood and Wickham, Corbet court, Gracechurch street.

FLINT, JAMES, Lewes, Sussex, linen draper, January 3, 31: solicitors, Messrs Sole and Co., Aldermanbury.

HEPPER, ROBERT, St Ives, Huntingdonshire, draper, January 18, February 2: solicitors, Messrs Reed and Shaw, Friday street, Cheapside.

PEARSON, JOSEPH, Darlaston, Staffordshire, cut nail manufacturer, January 3, 24: solicitors, Mr A. Harrison, Birmingham, and Mr Francis Woodward, Wednesbury.

TRAPP, THOMAS, and TRAPP, THOMAS PIERSON, 1, Church street, Southwark, tallow chandlers, January 12, February 2: solicitor, Mr George Holmer, 24, Bridge street, Southwark.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

OGILVIE, ANDREW, Dundee, merchant, Dec. 22, and Jan. 12.
SMITH, CHARLES, Dundee, merchant, Dec. 26, and Jan. 16.

BRITISH FUNDS.

	Wed.	Thur.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.
3 percent. Consols	95½	95½	95½	95½	95½	95½
Ditto for Opening	95½	95½	95½	95½	95½	95½
3 per cents Reduced	102½	102½	102½	102½	102½	102½
34 per cts. Reduced	102½	102½	102½	102½	102½	102½
New 34 per cent.	12½	12½	12½	12½	12½	12½
Long Annuities	182½	183	183	183	183	183
Bank Stock	57pm	59pm	59pm	57pm	59pm	58pm
India Stock	73pm	—	—	73pm	—	74pm
Exchequer Bills	—	—	—	—	—	—
India Bonds	—	—	—	—	—	—

MARKETS.

GRAIN, MARK LANE, Dec. 18.

The supply of wheat from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk was about equal to this day se'night, and the condition equally bad; dry parcels found ready buyers at the same prices, and other sorts were difficult to sell. Foreign was dull at the same prices, and no business was doing in bonded.

A fair supply of barley, and prices remain without alteration. Peas of all sorts are 1s. cheaper. New beans are also 1s. lower, and old are a dull sale.

Oats sell at about the same terms.

Wheat, Red New	48 to 54	Malt, Ordinary	42 to 52
Fine	54 to 59	Pale	54 to 58
White	48 to 60	Rye	34 to 37
Fine	58 to 63	Peas, Hog	28 to 31
Flour, per sack	42 to 50	Maple	30 to 31
Barley	26 to 32	Boilers	33 to 36
Malting	32 to 35	Beans, Ticks	26 to 30

Beans, Pigeon	30 to 34	Wheat	19s. 0d.
Harrow	29 to 33	Barley	6 to 0
Oats, Feed	17 to 21	Oats	8 to 0
Fine	20 to 22	Rye	10 to 6
Poland	20 to 23	Beans	10 to 6
Potato	19 to 23	Peas	9 to 6

WEEKLY AVERAGE FOR DEC. 15.

Wheat	51s. 0d.	Wheat	51s. 5d.
Barley	31 8	Barley	32 0
Oats	18 8	Oats	18 10
Rye	30 1	Rye	30 0
Beans	32 0	Beans	32 0
Peas	33 0	Peas	33 8

SEEDS.

A few sales of white cloverseed have been made at greatly enhanced rates by one or two speculators; but the trade in general set their faces against such exorbitant prices, though the growth and yield of English are unusually short. Trefoil excites more inquiry, and must advance if white cloverseed maintains its price; the stock of old being greatly reduced, and the last crop not being abundant. Canaryseed was cheaper.

HOPS, BOROUGH, Monday, Dec. 18.

Since this day week there has been a better inquiry, and the quotations have been fully supported. Old hops have been taken to a fair extent, owing to the scarcity in first hands of this year's growth; and a lively trade is expected after Christmas, with higher prices.

PROVISIONS, LONDON, Dec. 18.

During the past week business ruled dull, and the transactions were destitute of interest or importance. The sale of Irish butter was slow and limited, with scarcely any variation in prices. Foreign better in quality and price: Friesland, 100s. to 102s.; Kiel, 98s. to 100s. Singed sides of bacon in limited request at 33s. to 38s. landed, as in quality and size. Nothing doing on board. Bale and tierce middles the turn cheaper. Lard as last quoted. Hams in slow sale, and not so good in price.

BUTCHER'S MEAT, SMITHFIELD, Monday, Dec. 18.

Notwithstanding the great Christmas show was held last week, the number of beasts on offer in to-day's market was large for the time of year. With regard to its quality, there was nothing remarkably prime. The sale was in a very dull state, at a decline on last Monday's prices of from 2d. to 4d. per 8lbs. Although the number of sheep was good, there was a much better demand for them than might have been expected. The numbers of calves were good, yet the veal trade was active at an improvement of quite 8d. per 8lbs. In pigs a good business was doing, and the quotations had an upward tendency.

Price per stone of 8lbs. (sinking the offal).
Beef 2s. 8d. to 4s. 0d. | Veal 3s. 6d. to 4s. 8d.
Mutton 3 0 to 4 8 | Pork 3 0 to 4 4

HEAD OF CATTLE AT SMITHFIELD.

Beasts.	Sheep.	Calves.	Pigs.
Friday 1,554	3,180	172	341
Monday 3,061	24,360	172	413

NEWGATE and LEADENHALL MARKETS, Monday, Dec. 18.

Per 8lbs. by the carcass.	Per 8lbs. by the carcass.	Per 8lbs. by the carcass.	Per 8lbs. by the carcass.
Inferior Beef 2s. 6d. to 2s. 8d.	Inf. Mutton 2s. 8d. to 2s. 10d.	Middling do 3 8 to 3 10	Mid. ditto 3 0 to 3 6
Prime large 3 0 to 3 2	Prime ditto 3 8 to 4 0	Prime small 3 4 to 3 6	Veal 3 6 to 4 6
Large Pork 2 8 to 3 4	Small Pork 3 6 to 4 2		

POTATOES, BOROUGH, Monday, Dec. 18.

Moderate supplies have arrived during the past week, the to-

tal quantity amounting to 3091 tons: viz., from Yorkshire, 1385 tons; Scotland, 898; Devon, 95; Kent and Essex, 295; Wiltshire, 130; Jersey, 308. The continued mild and open weather for the time of year, and the consequent abundance of green vegetables in the markets, has been much against the sale of potatoes. A few very choice samples of York reds, prime in quality, have maintained the advanced price of 80s. per ton.
York reds...per ton 50s. to 80s. | Guernsey whites...s. to —s.
Devon do 60 .. 65 | Kent and Essex do 50 .. 55
Scotch do 55 .. 60 | Wiltshire 55 .. —

COTTON.

No alteration can be noticed.

WOOL.

Sales of English wool during the present week have been rather more extensive than for a few weeks back. Prices are very firm, but not so high in proportion as those at present asked by the farmers. The foreign market has been steady.

COAL EXCHANGE, Dec. 18.

Stewart's, 20s. 3d.; Hutton's, 20s. 3d.; Lambton's, 20s. 3d.; Braddyll's Hutton's, 20s. 3d. Ships arrived this week, 180.

GROCERIES, Tuesday, Dec. 19.

SUGAR.—100 hhds Barbadoes sold in auction at rather improved rates. Good to fine yellow fetched 64s. to 68s.; low to middling, 59s. 6d. to 63s. 6d. per cwt. Refined goods were in better demand, standard lump selling at 74s., and brown grocery lumps at 73s. per cwt. Best bonded crushed are offered at 26s. per cwt. 2,000 bags Bengal were offered in auction, middling to good white sold 64s. to 68s., grey 57s. to 60s. 6d. per cwt. The greater part were bought in at rather higher rates.

COFFEE.—Several public sales, consisting of small parcels, sold at former rates. Amongst others, 127 bales of Mocha sold at 68s. for low middling brown. Good ordinary Ceylon are quoted 60s. to 61s. per cwt.

TEA.—The market has a better appearance, but there is not much doing. Good sound common Congous are not to be had under 1s. per lb. cash.

Advertisements.

AT a MEETING of the SHAREHOLDERS of "THE SCOTTISH BOARD FOR BIBLE CIRCULATION," held in EDINBURGH, on the 14th of DECEMBER, 1843, Councillor GRIERSON in the chair, the following Gentlemen were unanimously chosen

PATRONS

(as having rendered very special services to the Institution).

James Douglas, Esq., of Cavers.
R. B. Sanderson, Esq., of West Jesmond.
R. B. Sanderson, younger, Esq., West Jesmond.
John Childs, Esq., Bungay.

HONORARY DIRECTORS.

Rev. Robert S. Candlish, D.D.
Rev. Thomas Guthrie.
Rev. Andrew Elliot.
Rev. George Johnston.
Rev. John French.
Rev. Francis Muir.

ORDINARY DIRECTORS.

William Wemyss, Esq., Dep. Com. Gen.
Andrew Grierson, Esq., T.C.
Edward Cruickshank, Esq., T.C.
Rev. Alexander Jack.
Hugh Rose, Esq., Blenheim Place.
John Macandrew, Esq., S.S.C.
William Beilby Esq., M.D.
John Dunlop, Esq., of Brockloch.
Robert Glass, Esq.
H. D. Dickie, Esq., Treasurer.
Andrew Grierson, jun., Esq., W.S.
James Lawrie, Esq., surgeon.
Rev. Adam Thomson, D.D. Secretary.
Mr Hugh Turnbull, Assistant Secretary.

THE WYCLIFFE SOCIETY.

For reprinting a series of the most important and valuable Writings of the Early Reformers, Puritans, and Nonconformists of Great Britain.

THIS SOCIETY, originating with the Congregational Union of England and Wales, and to be conducted by a Select Committee of that Union, is formed on the plan of the Camden, Parker, Wodrow, Calvin, and similar institutions.

Every Subscriber of One Pound annually, and paying in advance, will receive for his subscription, Three handsome Octavo Volumes of the reprints of the Writings of the Puritans and others who advocated Ecclesiastical Reform on exclusively Scriptural principles, from the times of Wycliffe to the accession of the House of Hanover.

The Subscription List for 1843 is now in course of being filled up, and will be closed on the 31st day of December. Persons desirous of becoming Subscribers are requested to signify their intention, and forward their subscriptions, per post, without delay, to the Rev. ROBERT ASHTON, Putney, Surrey.

N.B. Subscriptions may be paid personally at the Congregational Library, Blomfield Street, Finsbury.

JOHN BLACKBURN, } Secretaries pro tem.
ROBERT ASHTON, }

BETTS'S PATENT BRANDY.

NOTWITHSTANDING the publicity for many years past given to the superiority of BETTS'S PATENT FRENCH DISTILLED BRANDY over every other Spirit, British or Foreign, it is yet but partially known; J. T. BETTS and Co. therefore, feel it a duty they owe to the Public and themselves, to invite a comparison between the Patent and the French Brandy, until every Family in the kingdom, in which Brandy is consumed, have made trial of their Patent Brandy—and, consequently, discontinued the use of the Foreign Article. Their respective merits are fairly developed in the following Testimonials, to which they again beg to refer.

EXTRACTS FROM TESTIMONIALS.

"I do not hesitate to express my conviction that your Patent Brandy is fully as free from every thing injurious to health, and contains as pure a spirit, as the best varieties of Foreign Brandy."

—EDWARD TURNER,

"Professor of Chemistry in the University of London."

"John T. Betts, Esq."

"I am bound to say, and do assert it with confidence, that, for purity of spirit, this cannot be surpassed; and that your Patent Brandy is also quite free from those acids which, though minute in quantity, always contaminate the Foreign Spirit."

—JOSEPH HUME,

"J. T. Betts, Esq."

"Your Brandy is free from uncombined acid and astringent matter, which exists, more or less, in most of the Brandy imported from France."

—JOHN THOMAS COOPER.

"To Mr Betts."

It is this perfect freedom from the above objectionable qualities, and its agreeable similarity in flavour to the finest samples of Cognac Brandy, that constitute the peculiar value of the Patent Brandy.

J. T. BETTS and Co. are, at length enabled to give a distinct assurance that arrangements will be completed in the course of the present month, which will afford an unfailing protection to purchasers against the continuance of those frauds, from which they have hitherto so extensively suffered; as each bottle will be secured by a PATENT METALLIC CAPSULE, or covering for the cork, of solid metal, with their name, address, and the words "BETTS'S PATENT BRANDY" embossed upon it; the forgery of which subjects the guilty party to a Penalty of Fifty Pounds for every offence.

This valuable Spirit is manufactured only at the Distillery, No. 7, Smithfield Bars, leading to St John Street; where it may be obtained, either pale or coloured, in quantities not less than Two Gallons, at Eighteen Shillings per Gallon, for Cash on delivery.

NEWSPAPER OFFICE, No. 15, COVENTRY STREET, LONDON.

Established upwards of Thirty Years.

T. MUDIE and SONS, General Newsagents and Stationers, supply the *Nonconformist*, and all other London Newspapers (a correct list of which may be had on application), with the strictest regularity, to all parts of the Kingdom and the Colonies, free, and by the morning mail, if required. T. M. and Sons beg to state that they print the entire address of their Customers on the wrappers, when ordered for six months or longer.

LECTURES ON ECCLESIASTICAL ESTABLISHMENTS. THE SIXTH LECTURE will be delivered next TUESDAY EVENING, Dec. 26th, at the BOROUGH ROAD CHAPEL, SOUTH WARK, by the REV. H. RICHARD, of Marlborough Chapel.

SUBJECT:—"Establishments detrimental to the Spirituality and purity of the Christian Church."

To Commence at Half-past Seven o'Clock.

PERMANENT ENLARGEMENT OF THE "SUNDAY SCHOOL TEACHERS' MAGAZINE," AND JOURNAL OF EDUCATION.

IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE INCREASED Demand for this long established MAGAZINE (the present being the 31st year of its publication), and with a view to provide additional space for the insertion of Sunday School Intelligence, and information respecting the great educational movements of the present day, the Conductors have resolved to ENLARGE the work permanently to the extent of ONE-FOURTH of additional matter, commencing with the 1st of January, 1844. There will be no alteration in the price, which will continue at SIXPENCE per Month.

The number for JANUARY will contain a PORTRAIT and MEMOIR of that long-remembered friend of Sunday Schools, EDWARD BAINES, Esq., of Leeds.

Orders for the New Year are received by every Bookseller. London: R. DAVIS, Publisher, 60, Paternoster row.

Now ready, price 1s. 6d., 18mo. cloth, THE NARRATIVE of a VISIT to CHRISTIAN BRETHREN in Hamburg, Copenhagen, &c. By JAMES HOBY, D.D.

HOULSTON and STONEMAN, Paternoster row, London.

NATIONAL EDUCATION. — POPULAR LIBERTY. — REASONS AGAINST GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE IN EDUCATION: showing the dangerous consequences of entrusting a Central Government with the Education of its Subjects, and explaining the advantages of leaving it to be regulated by Individual, Family, and Local Influence. Price 1s.

London: T. WARD and Co., Paternoster row.

"We know of no production on the subject of national education which we deem more important. The writer has large and comprehensive views of the principles of political science, and of the rights and liberties of man. The appearance of the pamphlet is most opportune. It is just suited to this crisis, and we recommend all who take an interest in the great question of national education to peruse this pamphlet as soon and as seriously as they can."—*Christian Examiner*.

"We shall extract the pith of this pamphlet, but we recommend a careful perusal of it to our readers: it will amply repay the time expended on it. It is calmly and clearly written, and places the antagonist principles of a voluntary and individual, and a compulsory and central, education in a strong light. The author, we think, settles this question, but we must present his conclusions rather than his arguments and proofs; to them we shall again and again have to refer in the future discussion of this important subject. To us these conclusions appear indisputable."—*Leeds Mercury*.

"It is much to be regretted that this pamphlet has been put forth without a name. It is written with great shrewdness and force, and contains both facts and arguments powerfully bearing on the question under discussion."—*John Howard Hinton, M.A.*

"We regret that we cannot now notice, at a length corresponding with its value, this masterly pamphlet. Its publication would have been beneficial at any time; but at the present moment it is peculiarly valuable."—*Baptist Magazine*.

"A work of no common interest, and at this time of no common value. It cannot be too extensively circulated."—*Philanthropist*.

"This is a very able pamphlet, peculiarly valuable as attacking the fatal system of centralisation. We hope it will obtain a wide circulation."—*Sentinel*.

"This is a well written and highly judicious pamphlet; and we hope it will be extensively circulated, as the mania for governmental education has by no means subsided."—*General Advertiser*.

Published on the 1st of every Month.

THE PHILANTHROPIST: a Journal devoted to Social, Political, and Moral Reforms. Price Sixpence, stamped for post.

During the few months that have elapsed since the publication of the first number of the *Philanthropist*, it has received much of public patronage and support. Many of the articles have been reprinted, and some of the most popular writers of the day have cheered the Editor by expressions of approval and encouragement. As the object of the *Philanthropist* is unchanged, it is unnecessary to do more than repeat that part of the prospectus in which it was originally avowed, and in accordance with which the contents of every number have been penned:—

"The aim of this Journal will be honestly and earnestly to wage war with the thousand conventionalisms that weigh down and deaden the great heart of humanity. The wrong done to God and man by state-church pretensions and class legislation will be constantly exposed and condemned; and man, wherever and whatever he may be—however robbed of his divinity and his rights—degraded by circumstance and accident—abject and forlorn—will find in the pages of the *Philanthropist* an advocate and friend."

"The *Philanthropist*, a recently established monthly periodical whose spirited co-operation we hail with heartfelt satisfaction."—*Nonconformist*.

"A vigorous fellow-labourer in the work of reform, whom we heartily welcome."—*Falmouth Packet*.

"The pledge given in the prospectus has hitherto been faithfully redeemed, and the hope raised by the first number more than realised by the three which have followed. The subjects of the articles are aptly chosen, and cleverly discussed."—*Leicester Mercury*.

"The *Philanthropist*, a new monthly journal, started at London July 1st, and devoted to the furtherance of sound radical principles in church and state. We hail this labourer in the good cause with sincere satisfaction, and wish him every success."—*Aberdeen Review*.

"We are indebted to the *Philanthropist* for the following forcible, flowing, spirit-stirring lines."—*Welshman*.

"Unquestionably one of the best written papers of the day, and worthy the name which it assumes. We have read the three first numbers with more than satisfaction. It augurs well for the times we live in that such a paper can find readers and supporters. We wish it all the success which it so eminently deserves."—*Independent Magazine*.

"A new cheap monthly periodical of great merit, well deserving a large share of public support."—*Falmouth Packet*. Second Notice.

"After perusing the party twaddle of the organs of faction, it is refreshing to turn to this well written journal. There is about it a vitality which will not admit of despondency. The talented editor, while he plainly sees the necessity for reform, does not, like too many, turn pale, and shrink from the herculean labour. He attacks abuses; warns the public of impending danger; and excites into a healthy glow the sluggish blood of those who are so degraded by their slavery as to feel but little inclination to struggle for freedom."—*Cheltenham Free Press*. Second Notice.

"This well conducted periodical. . . . We cordially recommend it as a publication well worthy the support of those who advocate the true and veritable principles of civil and religious liberty."—*Northern Star*.

London: published by W. BRITAIN, 11, Paternoster row; and may be had of all Booksellers.

THE NEW MAGAZINE.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION OF ENGLAND AND WALES.

THE COMMITTEE is at length able to meet the wishes of numerous brethren in all parts of the country, by announcing the appearance, on the 1st of January, 1844, of the long-desired cheap and popular denominational Magazine.

The following resolution, moved by Rev. J. A. JAMES, and seconded by Dr VAUGHAN, was unanimously adopted at the recent meeting of the Union at Leeds:—

"That upon the report now presented by the Secretaries, of the present position of the proposal for a new Magazine, this meeting most respectfully and affectionately requests the Rev. Dr Campbell to edit the projected periodical in connexion with the Congregational Union of England and Wales—the meeting according to the views of Dr Campbell, as now reported, in respect to the price and size to be adopted for the Magazine."

To the wishes of his brethren, thus expressed, Dr Campbell has yielded. Pressed by numerous pastoral avocations, addicted to important literary pursuits—he adds to his labours, and turns aside from some favourite efforts, to serve the churches in an undertaking which presents to his far-seeing mind a prospect of incalculable usefulness—if the brethren will but support and second his exertions. Whether they will do this, Dr Campbell will test by the trial of a year.

"The *Christian Witness*, published under the sanction of the Congregational Union of England and Wales," is intended to be what its name imports—a decided testimony, by the Congregational churches, to primitive and apostolic Christianity, conducted in the genuine Christian spirit—calm, firm, earnest—in which the love of man is blended with the love of the truth, and the fear of man is vanquished by the fear of God. Pastors, deacons, members, and friends of the Congregational churches of England and Wales, now is your zeal for your principles to be tested! The committee of the Union will, in this matter, do its utmost to serve you; but success is not in the power of the committee, but in your power it is.

JOHN BLACKBURN, } SECRETARIES.
WM. STERN PALMER, }
ALGERNON WELLS, }

THE EDITOR'S ADDRESS.

The Congregational Union of England and Wales has determined, if possible, to ascertain how far price regulates the circulation of Religious Periodical Literature. The existing Magazines are already not only good, but cheap—the cheapest, indeed, of all religious publications; but in no case is their circulation equal to their substantial merits, for the narrowest limit of a denominational magazine ought at least to be the limit of the families composing its members. There is no reason for its being in one house which does not equally require it to be in all houses.

Well, to effect this is the object of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, who, in respect of price, have descended to the lowest point consistent with efficiency, and almost with existence. Let it be remembered that the Union is to furnish for *Threepence* a Magazine larger than most of the existing sixpenny magazines. The purchasers of the Union Magazine will, at the close of a year, possess an octavo volume of nearly six hundred pages, containing more matter than four ordinary octavo volumes, costing half a guinea each. As much letterpress will be given in the one case for THREE SHILLINGS as in the other for TWO GUINEAS!

These are some of the considerations which induced the Editor to accept the office. To adopt the phrase of Dr Johnson in a case somewhat analogous, he considers it "the highest honour that literature has brought to him." The position of those gentlemen who occupy chairs in the Schools of the Prophets he has ever deemed transcendently honourable; but still more important does he deem the position of those who, through the periodical press, become the instructors of whole communities. He judges that if any vocation on earth can produce where it is not, or excite where it is, a vigilance that never sleeps—a perseverance that knows no weariness—THIS, THIS IS THAT VOCATION.

But as price is always a comparative term, and must never be considered apart from quality, the character and object of the *Christian Witness* must next be specified. After a prolonged and careful survey of the whole field of periodical literature, the Editor considers that the Magazine required at the present time for the Congregational churches is substantially the following:—

I. THEOLOGY AND BIBLICAL ILLUSTRATION.

The paramount object of our Journal will be by every means to promote the work of God in the hearts of his children. Particular attention will be paid to the subject of Gospel truth. To meet the case of domestics and others, each number will contain a short Discourse, and also a Letter or Address to some particular class. In addition to these, there will be generally an illustration of some difficult, important, or interesting portion of Scripture.

II. BIOGRAPHY AND ORBITUARY.

This department will be a particular object of our regard. Grace reigning in life triumphing in death! Properly conducted, nothing conduces more to interest, impress, and edify all classes of believers. Especially is this the case in regard to death.

III. ESSAYS, EXTRACTS, AND CORRESPONDENCE.

This department will bear a very comprehensive character. Christian Missions, Church Polity, Church History, Popery and Puseyism, Memoirs of particular Churches and Institutions, Extracts from Works, Anecdotes, Essays on Benefit and Friendly Societies, will find a place in the *Christian Witness*.

IV. CHURCH AND STATE.

The separation of Church and State is the grand, the paramount question of our times. It involves the principal interests, both religious and political, of the British empire. The minds of the whole of your community must, therefore, be thoroughly enlightened on this momentous subject. Casual reference, whether from the pulpit or from the press, can never produce more than general impressions. To fire the mind, we must illumine the judgment and awaken the conscience; and this will not be forgotten in the *Christian Witness*.

V. ANALYTICAL REVIEWS AND SHORT CRITICISMS.

True criticism depends on a right perception of the just, the true, and the beautiful. The prevalent and popular system of reviewing is anything but criticism; it is essaying; it is dissertation; it may be, and frequently is, erudite, able, and eloquent; but it is not criticism. In the *Christian Witness* dissertation will give place to analysis. Where, as will be sometimes the case, expansion may be indispensable, we shall refer our readers to the *Congregational Magazine* and the *Eclectic Review*. Of one class of books the substance, the scope, and the aim will be carefully set forth, and a judgment pronounced on their merits and claims. Of another class the subject and object will be stated, and the character critically described. By this process great things may still be achieved for literature. All that is really judicial is generally contained in a few sentences. PUBLISHERS MAY RELY ON PROMPT NOTICES.

VI. SABBATH AND BRITISH SCHOOLS.

These Institutions claim the special regard of Periodical Writers. To meet their wants, will be with the *Christian Witness* a uniform effort of laborious anxiety. To meet the wants of the scholars, it will present them with matter adapted to fix their attention, promote reflection, and excite a thirst for inquiry into the Word of Inspiration, the works of God, and useful learning.

VII. RELIGIOUS AND PHILANTHROPIC INTELLIGENCE.

Here, while preference will be given to that which is Congregational, nothing will be overlooked which serves to display the working of God's hand, and tends to support the faith and guide the prayers of his people.

VIII. POETRY.

The choicest productions of our Christian poets will be summoned to aid in refining the taste, regaling the fancy, and purifying the heart of our readers.

IX. BRITISH MISSIONS.

As Missionary Institutions are the glory of the churches, so every Denominational Periodical ought to endeavour, to the utmost of its power, to further their interests. With a view to this, a digest of the operations of these Missions will form a part of every Number.

Such is an outline of the *Christian Witness*. Will it suit your necessities? Will you adequately support it? Do you ask us to specify our view of adequate support? Considering the sale of other magazines, Fifty Thousand for the first year would not be altogether discouraging.

Bishops of the Churches! We look wistfully to you. Will you give us the aid of your counsel and your prayers? In particular, will you send us memoirs and obituaries of departed saints? And, finally, will you bring the subject of our Periodical before your people, from the pulpit? Brethren, do this, and our Journal is safe. You have only to will that the *Christian Witness* shall become the most efficient magazine of its class that the world has yet seen, and—IT IS DONE!

Sunday School Teachers! We once more, with joy and confidence, meet you! You, above all mankind, are vitally interested in Cheap Periodical Literature. You have Cheap Bibles; now for Cheap Magazines! Will you recommend our Journal to your senior scholars? Will you prepare and transmit to us memoirs and obituaries of godly children?

Visitors of Christian Instruction Societies! The *Christian Witness* will form a most valuable instrument for your service.

Churches! Bishops! Deacons! The case is now left in your hands. Oh, forget not what is due, in this alarming day, to your country, your posterity, and your Lord!

N.B. THE PROFITS OF THIS WORK WILL BE DEVOTED TO THE BENEFIT OF AGED MINISTERS.

* All communications to be addressed, post paid, to the Editor, at Mr Snow's, 35, Paternoster row; where, also, Advertisements will be received up to the 23rd of every month: after which, insertion cannot be insured.

November 17, 1843.

PUBLISHED BY THE SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION, 60, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON.

THE UNION MAGAZINE, FOR SUNDAY SCHOOL TEACHERS. To be conducted by the COMMITTEE of the SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION. No. I will be published on the 1st of JANUARY, 1844. Price 2d.

II.

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL TEACHER'S CLASS REGISTER, ALMANACK, AND DIARY, for 1844. Price, bound in cloth, 1s. 4d.; half bound, 1s. 6d.

III.

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL TEACHER'S CLASS REGISTER AND DIARY for 1844. In stiff cover, price 4d.

IV.

A SELECTION OF SCRIPTURE LESSONS, for Use in Sunday Schools, for Morning and Afternoon Reading, Teaching, and Repetition, for the year 1844. Arranged by the Committee of the Sunday School Union. Price 2s. per 100.

V.

NOTES ON THE SCRIPTURE LESSONS for 1844. Arranged by the Committee of the Sunday School Union. Publishing Monthly, price 1d.

* The Notes for January will be ready for sale on the First of December, and will be published a month in advance throughout the year.

VI.

SENIOR CLASSES: their Importance, and the Mode of Conducting them. By W. H. WATSON, Secretary of the Sunday School Union. Price 6d.

VII.

THE TEACHER'S AUTHORITY in a Class of Sunday Scholars. By H. ALTHANS. 2d. each, or 12s. per 100.

VIII.

BRIEF HINTS TO SUNDAY SCHOOL TEACHERS. By W. F. LLOYD. 14d., or 10s. per 100.

IX.

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL TEACHER: designed to aid in Elevating and Perfecting the Sunday-school System. By JOHN TODD, Pastor of the First Congregational Church, Philadelphia; Author of "Lectures to Children," "Truth made simple," "The Student's Manual," &c. With a Preface by HENRY ALTHANS, of the Sunday School Union. New Edition. Price 2s., cloth lettered; gilt edges, 2s. 6d.

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